

*Jordan of Giano's Evangelical Vision:
The Battle over the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century*

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ABSTRACT

Jon D. C. Powell: *Jordan of Giano's Evangelical Vision:
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(Under the direction of Marcus Bull)

My dissertation, “Jordan of Giano’s Evangelical Vision: The Battle over the Franciscan Order in the Thirteenth Century,” explores the relationship between memory and narrative as found in Jordan of Giano’s (c. 1185–c. 1262) *Chronica* (1262). While the primary theme that this dissertation explores is the nature of Franciscan mission, that topic is considered in connection with the subjects of martyrdom, clericalization, education, simplicity, hierarchy, language, and the role of the cardinal protector. More to the point, this dissertation investigates the manner in which Jordan drew on Franciscan collective memory and his own personal memories of events pertaining to mission in order to discuss these themes as points of contention with respect to expressions of Franciscan identity. It is Jordan’s process of creating a new or a reinterpreted narrative that provides us with the most apparent insights into how friars as individuals and as groups remembered events and how they shaped those memories for the purpose of creating a group identity for the Friars Minor.

My dissertation aims to revise the extant historiography in two main areas: First, in contrast to the prevailing methodological approach to the text—which views Jordan’s *Chronica* as a source of fairly factual information that can be employed to answer the Franciscan Question, or the attempt to compile a biography of the historical Francis of Assisi (1181/1182–1226) and to ascertain his ideal intentions for the Order —this study emphasizes how Jordan relied primarily on personal and collective memory to compose the *Chronica* and

how this reliance affected the resulting narrative. Second, instead of viewing the *Chronica* as merely recounting the primary events that occurred in relation to the Franciscan mission to Germany in 1221, this dissertation suggests that Jordan uses his narrative to express a clerical identity for the order, one that runs counter to an identity of simplicity that was expressed in Franciscan *legenda* composed in Italy during the early to mid thirteenth century. This dissertation argues that, in addition, we should read the sources in terms of the authors' evolving understanding of the Order, how narrative construction affects the expression of that understanding, and to the extent to which this construction differs depending on the memories available to the author as well as the author's intent in constructing a particular narrative.

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while I devoted substantial time to this endeavor.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	vii
INTRODUCTIONS	1
The <i>Chronica</i> , Memory, and Themes	7
Historiography of the <i>Chronica</i> and the Approach for this Study.....	12
Primary Sources Associated with the <i>Chronica</i>	19
Organization of this Study	23
A Brief Methodological Overview	27
CHAPTER 1: JORDAN, THE <i>CHRONICA</i> , AND GENRE: CHRONICLES, MEMOIRS, AND ORAL HISTORY	31
Jordan of Giano: Career Politician and Accidental Chronicler	32
Difficulty in Categorizing the <i>Chronica</i>	40
Is the <i>Chronica</i> a Chronicle or an Annal?	44
Is the <i>Chronica</i> a Memoir or an Autobiography?	52
Is the <i>Chronica</i> an Oral History?	55
Conclusion.....	59

CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY: MEMORY, NARRATIVE, AND IDENTITY	63
How the Brain Stores and Recalls Individual Memory.....	64
Autobiographic Memory and Narrative Construction.....	71
How Groups and Organizations Store and Recall Social Memory	75
Narrative and Narrative Construction	88
The Reliability of Memory and Narrative.....	92
Group Identity	100
Conclusion.....	108
CHAPTER 3: MEMORY AND MISSION IN JORDAN’S <i>CHRONICA</i>	110
Personal Memory in the <i>Chronica</i>	112
Collective Memory and Eyewitnesses in the <i>Chronica</i>	125
Textual Sources in the <i>Chronica</i>	134
The 1219 Missions to France, Germany, and Hungary	144
Conclusion	150
CHAPTER 4: EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCISCAN MARTYRDOM: TEMPORAL OR SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATIONS.....	154
The Fourteenth-century <i>Passiones</i> and Thirteenth-century Franciscan Martyrdom.....	156
The Spiritual Geography of Franciscan Martyrdom.....	167
Persecution as Part of Mission in the <i>Chronica</i>	178
Conclusion	185

CHAPTER 5: EARLY-THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRANCISCAN MISSION: CONFRONTATIONAL OR CONFESSIONAL INTERPRETATIONS	188
Francis’ Depiction of the Friars’ Demeanor when They Went on Mission.....	191
The Friars’ Sermons and Conduct while on Mission in the Early Thirteenth Century	201
Francis as an Example of Franciscan Conduct on Mission	210
Conclusion	221
CHAPTER 6: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH SIMPLICITY	224
Illiterate Versus Literate Friars within a Clericalized Franciscan Order	228
Simplicity Versus Education within a Clericalized Franciscan Order.....	248
Conclusion	267
CHAPTER 7: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH MISSION.....	269
Provincial Emphasis on Clericalization and Education	271
Education in the English and German Provinces.....	276
The Efficacy of Clerical versus Lay Friars in regard to the Order’s Expansion..	285
Conclusion	295
CHAPTER 8: MISSIONS AS JUSTIFICATION FOR APPOINTING A CARDINAL PROTECTOR.....	297
Maintenance of Franciscan Orthodoxy as Justification for the Cardinal Protector in Francis’ Writings.....	300
Protection from Enemies as Justification for the Cardinal Protector in Thomas of Celano’s <i>Life of Saint Francis</i> and in the “We who were with him” Texts	304

The Failure of the 1219 Missions as Against the Italian Lay Friars’ Disobedience as Justifications for the Cardinal Protector	317
Conclusion	333
CHAPTER 9: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH LANGUAGE.....	335
Multilingualism in the 1219 and 1221 Missions	337
Multilingual Begging.....	351
Conclusion	360
CONCLUSION.....	362
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	374

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Journals and Series

<i>AF</i>	<i>Analecta Franciscana</i> , 12 vols. (Quaracchi: College of Saint Bonaventure, (1885–1983).
<i>AFH</i>	<i>Archivum Franciscanum Historicum</i> .
<i>BF</i>	<i>Bullarium Franciscanum, Romanorum pontificum, constitutiones, epistolas ac diplomata continens tribus ordinis S.P.N. Francisci spectantia</i> , vol. 1, ed. H. Sbaralea (Rome, 1759).
<i>FA:ED 1</i>	<i>Francis of Assisi: Early Documents: The Saint</i> , volume 1, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 1999).
<i>FA:ED 2</i>	<i>Francis of Assisi: Early Documents: The Founder</i> , volume 2, ed. Regis J. Armstrong, J. Wayne Hellmann, William J. Short (New York: New City Press, 2000).
<i>FS</i>	<i>Franciscan Studies</i> .
<i>MF</i>	<i>Miscellanea Francescana</i> .
<i>MGH SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica Scriptores in Folio</i> .

Major Medieval Franciscan Texts

1 Celano	Thomas of Celano, “Vita Prima S. Francisci,” in <i>AF</i> 10 (1927), 1–117.
2 Celano	Thomas of Celano, “Vita Secunda S. Francisci,” in <i>AF</i> 10 (1927), 127–268.
<i>Chronica majora</i>	Matthew of Paris, <i>Chronica majora</i> , vol. 6, <i>Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages</i> (London, Longman & co., 1883).
<i>Compilatio Assisiensis</i>	“The Assisi Compilation,” edition: <i>Compilatio Assisiensis dagli scritti di fr. Leone e compagni su s. Francesco d’Assisi</i>

	<i>dal Ms. 1046 di Perugia</i> , edited by Marino Bigaroni (Assisi: Biblioteca Franciscana Chiesa Nuova, 1992).
Eccleston	<i>Fratr̃is Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam</i> , ed. A. G. Little (Manchester, 1951).
<i>Generalium</i>	Arnold of Sarrant, “Chronica Generalium Ministrorum,” in <i>AF</i> 3, 1–575.
Jordan	“Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano. Einführung und kritische Edition nach den bisher bekannten Handschriften,” ed. Johannes Schlageter, <i>AFH</i> 104: 1-2 (2011): 3-63.
<i>Legenda trium sociorum</i>	<i>Legendam trium sociorum</i> , ed. Michael Faloci Pulignani (Fulginiae: Ex Typographia Francisci Salvati, 1898).
<i>Narbonne</i>	“Statuta Generalis ordinis edita in Capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonae an. 1260, Assisi an. 1279 atque Parissiis an. 1292,” ed. M. Bighl, <i>AFH</i> 34 (1941): 13–94, 284–358.
<i>Opera</i>	Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, <i>Opera Omnia</i> , vol. 8 (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1898).
<i>OSPFA</i>	Kajetan Esser, <i>Opuscula Sancti Patris Francisci Assisiensis</i> , 2d rev. ed. Grottaferrata (Rome: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae ad Aquas Claras, 1978).
<i>Passio sanctorum</i>	Arnold of Sarrant, “Passio sanctorum Martyrum fratrum Beraldi, Petri, Adiuti, Accursii, Othonis in Marochio martyrizatorum,” in <i>AF</i> 3, 579–96.
Perugia	John of Perugia, “De inceptione vel fundamento ordinis et actibus illorum fratrum minorum qui fuerunt primi in religione et socii b. Francisci,” in <i>MF</i> 72 (1972): 117-483.
<i>Pre-Narbonne</i>	“De fratrum minorum constitutionibus Prenarbonensisbus,” ed. C. Cenci, <i>AFH</i> 83 (1990): 50–95.
<i>Vestigia</i>	“Vestigia constitutionum Prenarbonensium,” ed. Cesare Cenci, <i>AFH</i> 97 (2004): 61–98.
<i>Regula bullata</i>	“Regula bullata Sancti Francisci Assisiensis,” in <i>OSPFA</i> , 226–38.

<i>Regula non bullata</i>	“Regula non bullata Sancti Francisci Assisiensis,” in <i>OSPFA</i> , 241–94.
Salimbene	Salimbene de Adam, <i>Cronica</i> , edited by Giuseppe Scalia, 2 volumes (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1966).
<i>Testamentum</i>	“Testamentum,” in <i>OSPFA</i> , 307–17.

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation is about the relationship between memory and narrative within Jordan of Giano's (c. 1185–c. 1262) *Chronica* (1262). While the primary theme that this dissertation explores is the nature of Franciscan mission as revealed in the intersections of memory and narrative, that topic is considered with reference to topics such as martyrdom, clericalization, education, simplicity, hierarchy, language, and the role of the cardinal protector. More to the point, this dissertation investigates the manner in which Jordan drew on Franciscan collective memory and his own personal memories of events pertaining to mission in order to discuss these themes as they related to contested aspects of Franciscan identity. It is Jordan's process of creating a new or a reinterpreted narrative of Franciscan history that provides us with the most helpful insights into how friars as individuals and as groups remembered events and how they shaped those memories for the purpose of creating a group identity for the Friars Minor.

In 1262, the year of his death, an elderly Italian friar named Jordan of Giano arrived at the Franciscan provincial chapter at Halberstadt in Saxony, where he treated the younger members of the order's hierarchy to his stories about the order's founder Francis of Assisi (1181/2–1226), the early days of the order, and—most of all—the Franciscan expansion from Italy into Germany. The more junior friars were so enthralled that they demanded that the now retired former administrator of the Friars Minor write down his memories of the forty-one years of their order's mission efforts in Germany.¹ Although reminiscing about the days

¹ Jordan, 33–4.

of yore was a customary practice, the audience's exhortations that the storyteller write down his memories were not. The result is Jordan's *Chronica* and its story of the order's origins and the extension of the Friars Minor into the region of Germany, covering the period from Francis' conversion to the religious life to the year of the provincial chapter held at Halberstadt. The Friars Minor had likely been sharing stories informally about Francis since the first few friars had joined him, and the friars used such memories to construct formal textual narratives about their order and its values since Francis' death. However, Jordan's *Chronica* was one of the first Franciscan texts to explore the order's values without using Francis as the embodiment of those values.

The Franciscan order had its origins in a small group of lay individuals who, like Francis, espoused a variety of aspects of the *vita apostolica*, and decided to follow him and to adopt his manner of spirituality.² According to the logic of the *vita apostolica*, an individual believed he or she could come closer to the divine or ensure his or her personal salvation through such acts as imitating the apostles' public preaching or rejecting wealth for a life of poverty.³ Embracing these ideals, the Friars Minor evolved into a papally-protected

² John Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517* (Chicago, Ill.: Franciscan Herald Press, 1988), 10–31; Grado G. Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco: storia dei frati minori e del francescanesimo sino agli inizi del 16. secolo* (Padova: Editrici francescane, 2003), 19–43; Rosalind B. Brooke, *The Image of St Francis: Responses to Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 9–19, 129–31, 149–56; Michael Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2006), 13–21; Augustine Thompson, *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 19–46, 191–206, 209–10, 212–13; Charles H. Lawrence, *The Friars: The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2013), 26–42; Lawrence Landini, *The Causes of the Clericalization of the Order of Friars Minor, 1209–1260 in the Light of Early Franciscan Sources* (Chicago: Pontifica Universitas Gregoriana, Facultas Historiae Ecclesiasticae, 1968), 12, 17–23, 35, 110, 113.

³ John B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Mediaeval Academy of America, 1977), 1–13, 110–12; Brooke, “La prima espansione francescana in Europa,” in *Espansione del francescanesimo tra Occidente e Oriente nel secolo XIII: atti del VI Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 12–14 ottobre 1978*, (Assisi: Società internazionale di studi francescani, 1979), 126; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 17, 60–2; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 19–20; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 8–10; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 208–9; Neslihan Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect: The Rise of Learning in the Franciscan Order, 1209–1310* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012), 62–3; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 1–25, 31–7, 49.

mendicant order that proliferated throughout Western Europe. Papal protection came unofficially when Innocent III (1198–1216) verbally approved a *praepositum* in 1209 or 1210 and officially when Honorius III (1216–1227) promulgated a rule in 1223 in the bull *Solet annuere*.⁴ As the order increased its numbers, Francis sent missions to other parts of Italy and then beyond to non-Italian regions, including two attempts at evangelizing Germany in 1219 and 1221.⁵ At first, the friars looked to Francis to model the Franciscan ideal through his actions. However, this role as exemplar of the Franciscan ideal became untenable as the order attracted thousands of members—too many men for any but a few individuals to know Francis on a personal level—and spread throughout Europe—most were too distant from Assisi to have any contact with the founder. Two years after Francis’ death in 1226, the friars began to compose what might be termed “identity narratives,” since they no longer had the founder to serve as a living embodiment of Franciscan identity.⁶

In written accounts of their beginnings, the Friars Minor agreed on a number of details, such as that Francis had turned to the religious life in 1207 and that the zeal of his devotion served to attract several other men and women to become his followers; however, the friars

⁴ *Regula bullata*, 225–38; Jordan, 47; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 27, 107, 258; Jacques Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise* (Paris: Édition Gallimard, 1989), 191–2.

⁵ Jordan, 34–42; Raoul Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 2nd revised edition (Rome: Bulzoni Editore, 1981), 208–9; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 46, 48, 65–72; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26–32, 126; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 26–7, 34–5, 68–70, 73–4, 78–9; Robson, *The Friars Minor*, 24–5, 28–30; Franco Dal Pino, “Giordano da Giano e le prime missioni oltralpe dei frati Minori,” in *I Compagni di Francesco e la prima generazione minoritica : Atti del XIX convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17–19 ottobre 1991*, Società internazionale di studi francescani, ed. P. Beguin (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1992), 218–22, 227–8, 223, 237–9, 245; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 58–9, 64–5, 89–90, 247–8; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5, 102–3, 106; V. M. Onestighel, “Giordano da Giano e i primi Minori sulla via del Brennero,” *Archivio per l’Alto Adige* 9 (1914): 403–8; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70; Isabelle Heullant-Donat, “Chronique de Jourdain,” in *François d’Assise : écrits, vies, témoignages*, Sources Franciscaines, ed. Jacques Dalarun, Gisèle Besson, Michael W. Blastic Marc Boriosi, et al (Paris: Éd. du Cerf : Éd. franciscaines, 2010), 2029; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 25–9; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123; Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), 151.

⁶ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 10–52, 302–304; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government: Elias to Bonaventure* (Cambridge: University Press, 1959), 11, 20–7, 114, 127–9, 142, 173, 184–7, 205, 292.

disagreed over the nature of the religious life that Francis advocated.⁷ While the friars agreed that Francis principally laid out his vision for the order in the *Rule of 1223*,⁸ the *Rule*'s language was so broad that the friars quarreled over the technicalities within the wording, such as whether or not lay friars were permitted to learn as well as the role of the cardinal protector. These disputes over the order's identity became so pronounced by the 1290s that the friars would split into two opposing factions, the Spirituals and the Conventuals. The Spiritual friars envisioned an order in which they built themselves modest huts as expressions of their commitment to poverty and rejection of the use of money, while the Conventuals maintained that the order needed to build convents and churches, even if they suggested wealth, so as to house and feed the order's large number of members.⁹ The friars also debated the relationship between mission and martyrdom (particularly in Muslim regions) as vocational aspirations, the nature of education, and the order's process of clericalization. The schism between these two factions became so divisive that Conventual Franciscans, using their authority as inquisitors, tried four Spiritual friars in 1318 for disobedience to the papacy and handed them to the secular authorities to be burned at the stake.¹⁰

⁷ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 4–6; Brooke, ed., *Scripta Leonis Rufini et Angeli Sociorum S. Francisci: The Writings of Leo, Rufino and Angelo Companions of St. Francis* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 18–19, 53–66; Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars, Historical Problems: Studies and Documents* (New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1975), 26; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 14; David Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans: From Protest to Persecution in the Century after Saint Francis* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 1–41; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 40–1, 45–6; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 101–7, 119–40; Brett Edward Whalen, *Dominion of God: Christendom and Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 205, 210–24; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 8–16, 96; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88, 111, 162–3, 165–6, 168–9; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 60–4.

⁸ *Regula bullata*.

⁹ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 4–6; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 18–19, 53–66; Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars*, 26; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 14; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 1–41; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 40–5; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 101–7, 119–40; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 205, 210–24; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 8–16, 96; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88, 111, 162–3, 165–6, 168–9; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 60–4.

¹⁰ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 1–41.

During the first half-century of the order's existence, however, the Friars Minor in Italy contented themselves with discussing and debating the manner in which the friars identified themselves as members of the Franciscan order principally by means of narratives based on memories of Francis. Having been commissioned to write the *Life of Saint Francis* (1228–1229) by Pope Gregory IX (1227–1241), Thomas of Celano (1200–1270) constructed a narrative after talking to people, both secular and religious, around Assisi who could remember the order's founder. Unhappy with Thomas' concentration on Francis' stigmata, John of Perugia augmented Book One of Thomas' text as his *The Beginning or the Founding of the Order and the Deeds of Those Lesser Brothers Who Were the First Companions of Blessed Francis in Religion* (1240–1241), more commonly known as the *Anonymous of Perugia*, including stories that he acquired from Giles of Assisi (c.1190–1262) and Bernard of Quintavalle (1180–1241), both of whom had been Francis' companions. John's revision of Thomas' text focused the narrative on the founder and his relationship with his first followers.¹¹ Interestingly, several of Francis' companions, usually identified as Leo (d. 1270), Angelo, and Rufino, felt dissatisfied with John's work and edited it using their own memories of the founder to create the *Legend of the Three Companions* (1241–1247). In their version, the authors highlighted the founder's sanctity, but without Thomas' emphasis on the stigmata.¹² When Crescentius of Iesi (d. 1263, m.g. 1244–1247) was elected general minister

¹¹ Regis J. Armstrong, "Introduction: The Anonymous of Perugia," *FA:ED* 2, 31–2; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 127–38. Scholars refer to the text as the *Anonymous of Perugia*, because the author did not sign his work and because the text survives in only one fifteenth-century manuscript located. However, in the 1970s, Lorenzo DiFonzo and Pierre Beguin determined that the text was composed by John of Perugia, a companion to Brother Giles and an acquaintance of Bernard of Quintavalle.

¹² Armstrong, "Introduction: The Legend of the Three Companions," *FA:ED* 2, 61; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 4–6; Manselli, "Tradizione orale e redazione scritta a proposito di Francesco d'Assisi," in *Francesco e i suoi compagni*, ed. Raoul Manselli, Bibliotheca seraphico-capuccina 46 (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 1995), 71–5.

of the Friars Minor in 1244, he appealed to the order's members to share their memories of Francis so that they could be included in a second official *legendum*. A good number of friars came forward with their stories, many of which were preserved in the “We who were with him” texts that form part of the *Assisi Compilation* (1244–1260). Unlike the earlier *legenda*, the “We who were with him” texts were not edited into a coherent narrative but instead were collected as a series of discrete stories furnished by an unidentified group of friars.¹³ A select portion of the narratives found in the *Legend of the Three Companions* and the “We who were with him” texts were sent to Thomas of Celano, who combined them with elements from his first *legendum* so as to compose the *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* (1245–1247).¹⁴ Although the “We who were with him” texts stand out as a collection of stories and not as a long, coherent narrative, all of the texts described here can be characterized as having been written in or near Assisi and employing memories of people who knew or who were very close to Francis in order to construct an organizational identity based on the person of the founder, his life, his religiosity, and his attitudes toward spirituality.

It is not until the late 1250s that any Friar Minor who lived and labored far from Assisi conceived of composing a narrative about the order and its organizational identity and of employing the memories of friars who had never known the founder. When Thomas of Eccleston (d. c. 1258) wrote *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* (1258–1260), he used notes he had written over the years as well as his own memories of events to tell the story of how a small group of men established the order in the kingdom of England in 1224.¹⁵

¹³ Armstrong, “Introduction: The Legend of the Three Companions,” 113–16.

¹⁴ Armstrong, “Introduction: The Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul,” *FA:ED* 2, 233–7; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 4–6.

¹⁵ Placid Hermann, trans., *XIIIth Century Chronicles* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1961), 86–7; Lothar Hardick, ed., *Nach Deutschland und England : die Chroniken der Minderbrüder Jordan von Giano und Thomas von*

In a similar manner, Jordan composed the *Chronica* (1262) from his own memory regarding the manner in which a band of missionaries, including himself, brought the Friars Minor to Germany in 1221 and expanded it throughout the region.¹⁶ In these cases, the authors relied substantially on their own memories of events and focused their narratives on Franciscan mission and the values that were important to those friars in the provinces. As might be expected from this shift in the source of information about Francis and the Friars Minor, there is a significant transition in the nature and form of Franciscan institutional identity as articulated in the narrative sources.

The *Chronica*, Memory, and Themes

In light of this shift in the written expressions of Franciscan identity, this dissertation investigates Jordan's use of individual, collective, and institutional memory to create the *Chronica*'s narrative and the concepts and values that he explored that were central to Franciscan negotiations regarding their identity as an order. This is possible because, in the *Chronica*, Jordan has a penchant, through the presentations of his own memories, for relating some of the key milestones of the Franciscans' expansion into Germany as well as examples

Eccleston, Franziskanische Quellenschriften (Werl/Westf.: Dietrich-Coelde-Verlag, 1957), 215; Andrew G. Little, ed., *Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1909), xxi; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 206–7.

¹⁶ P. Odulf van der Vat, "Das chronogische Rätsel in der Chronik Jordans von Giano," *AFH* 24 (1931): 395–8; Marie-Thérèse Laureilhe, trans. *Sur les routes d'Europe au XIIIe siècle : chroniques* (Paris: Éditions franciscaines, 1959), 21–4; Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 13–16; Ludovico Gatto, "La Cronaca di Giordano da Giano e le Edizioni che la Riguardano," in *Editori di Quaracchi, 100 anni dopo bilancio e prospettive : atti del colloquio internazionale, Roma 29–30 Maggio 1995, Scuola superiore di studi medievali e francescani, Pontificio Ateneo Antonianum*, Medioevo (Rome, Italy) 3, ed. Alvaro Cacciotti, Barbara Faes de Mottoni (Rome: PAA-Edizioni Antonianum, 1997), 434–5; Marco Bartoli and Alfonso Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo : storie e riflessioni del primo secolo francescano*, Quaderni di francescanesimo 3 (Trapani: Il pozzo di Giacobbe, 2010), 61–2, 64; Heullant-Donat, "Chronique de Jourdain," 2019, 2027–30, 2032; Johannes Schlageter, "Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano. Einführung und kritische Edition nach den bisher bekannten Handschriften," *AFH* 104:1–2 (2011): 11; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44.

of obstacles that the friars overcame. Indeed, Jordan links the milestones to a framework established by his own recall, and the work is therefore a particularly compelling example of the intersection between public/institutional and private memory. This presentation is explicit in the choices that Jordan made in deciding which stories to tell and the manner in which he presented them, with the result that we acquire a sense of what he and his audience of Franciscans in positions of authority found important and interesting in such a narrative, and those elements of these stories with which they particularly connected as expressions of their identity as Friars Minor.

Thus, Jordan's *Chronica* permits us to consider the relationship between his individual memory and Franciscan social or institutional memory, or the memory that the Friars Minor negotiated in group settings by sharing stories of the past so as to construct an institutional identity as an order of mendicant friars. As we will see, Jordan utilizes social and institutional memory to create the narrative framework of Franciscan mission into Germany, but he also uses his individual memory in order to place himself within that structure. As the dissertation will argue, once Jordan introduces himself into the narrative, he continues to situate his personal memories, in which he has encoded many of his conceptions of Franciscan values, within public Franciscan memory.

In his role as an administrator within the Franciscan hierarchy, Jordan often had the opportunity to observe or to participate in some of the major events that affected the order. His political rise in the Friars Minor began when he attended the 1221 General Chapter at Assisi, at which Francis decided to send a second mission to Germany. One of the volunteers for the mission thought that Jordan would be a valuable addition, though Jordan does not

explain why, and this friar worked to convince him to join the expedition.¹⁷ As a participant on that mission, Jordan established a convent in Salzburg in 1221,¹⁸ was ordained as a priest in 1223, and served as the Guardian of Mainz during that year.¹⁹ In 1224, he was raised to Custodian of Thuringia and expanded the Friars Minor into that region.²⁰ When the provincial minister of Saxony died in 1230, Jordan travelled to Rome to ask the pope for a new minister and convinced him to place John the Englishman in that position.²¹ In 1238, many friars felt that Elias was abusing his authority as general minister, and Jordan was a member of the delegation that asked Gregory IX to remove Elias from this position.²² The last that we know about Jordan politically is that he served as the vicar of the province of Poland in April of 1241 before being raised by May to the position of vice provincial minister of Bohemia and Poland. As the order's representative in Bohemia and Poland, he worked to convince western military leaders to respond to the Mongol threat to Europe.²³

Despite this political pedigree, Jordan centered much of his narrative on mundane aspects of the Franciscan mission to Germany. Even though he marks his rise in the order's hierarchy throughout his narrative, he does so principally to explain his role as participant in or as

¹⁷ Jordan, 39–42.

¹⁸ Jordan, 45.

¹⁹ Jordan, 47.

²⁰ Jordan, 49.

²¹ Jordan, 56–7.

²² Jordan, 59–60; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 4–7, 119–22, 137–82; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 42–3, 51–61, 123, 139–40; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 65–8; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 27–8, 48–53.

²³ *Chronica majora*, 80–4; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26–32, 126; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 207–9; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 46, 48, 67–71; Dal Pino, “Giordano da Giano e le prime missioni,” 218–22, 227, 237, 245; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 26–7, 68–70, 73–4; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 24–5, 28–30; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 58–9, 64–5, 89–90, 247–8; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44, 102–3, 106.

observer to a given event. For this reason, he spends much more time on his frame of mind and on his decision-making process for joining the 1221 mission to Germany²⁴ than he does his meeting with Pope Honorius III (1216–1227).²⁵ We know more about how Jordan begged for alms from an uncooperative laity²⁶ than we do about his participation in Elias’ removal from power as general minister.²⁷ He is more descriptive concerning his interactions with Nicholas the Humble (a friar who had embraced simplicity and who disdained positions of authority in the order)²⁸ than he is regarding his friendships with either John of Pian di Carpine (who became provincial minister of Germany and Spain before taking part in his famous expedition to the Mongols)²⁹ or Thomas of Celano (who wrote two *legenda* of Francis and who gave Jordan relics of the founder).³⁰ Indeed, he seems more pleased about how the friars in his care in Thuringia celebrated his return from Italy with a special mass³¹

²⁴ Jordan, 40–2.

²⁵ Jordan, 59–60.

²⁶ Jordan, 45–6.

²⁷ Jordan, 59–60.

²⁸ Jordan, 52–4.

²⁹ Christopher Dawson, *The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1955), vii–xxxv; Livarius Oliger, “Franciscan Pioneers Amongst the Tartars,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 16:3 (Oct., 1930): 253–9; Denis Sinor, “John of Plano Carpini’s Return from the Mongols: New Light from a Luxemburg Manuscript,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3/4 (Oct., 1957): 193–206; Fernanda Sorelli, “Per regioni diverse: fra Giovanni da Pian del Carpine,” *I Compagni di Francesco e la prima generazione minoritica : Atti del XIX convegno internazionale, Assisi, 17–19 ottobre 1991*, Società internazionale di studi francescani, ed. P. Beguin (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo, 1992), 261–83; Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 9–10, 28–31, 42, 45, 47, 51, 60, 67, 75–80, 86, 90–2, 94, 99, 102–6, 109, 134, 136, 140, 165, 175, 180–1, 184–5, 188, 191–2, 201, 207.

³⁰ Jordan, 34, 42; 1 Celano; 2 Celano; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

³¹ Jordan, 57–8. Jordan’s humility, though, seems to have prevented him from attributing this special mass to their respect for him and to their appreciation for his return; instead, he ascribes their celebration to reverence for the relics of Francis that he was carrying in his tunic.

than he is with any events in Rome.³² Moreover, Jordan says nothing regarding his activities in Poland and Bohemia,³³ silently skipping over these years of his life, adhering instead to a strict narrative of the order's expansion into Germany.

Jordan uses these select stories from memory to explore several themes that were the subject of debate within the Friars Minor even before Francis died in 1226. These themes, which the dissertation explores in turn, include mission, martyrdom, clericalization, education, simplicity and hierarchy, the role of the cardinal protector, and language. Since Jordan utilizes the 1219 and 1221 missions as a framework or paradigm on which he constructs his narrative of subsequent events, the topic of mission permeates all of the other themes within the *Chronica*. For example, Jordan notes that five friars who were sent on mission to Spain were martyred in Morocco; however, he also indicates that Francis frowned on any friar actively seeking martyrdom while on mission.³⁴ He addresses clericalization and education within the order in several ways, but one of them was to explain how an all-lay delegation's ignorance of language and lack of planning caused the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary to fail,³⁵ whereas the 1221 expedition to Germany succeeded because clerical and educated friars could speak German as well as because small groups were sent in advance so as to prepare the locals for the friars' arrival.³⁶ Through his stories about Nicholas the Humble's adherence to Franciscan simplicity and abhorrence of serving in the order's hierarchy, Jordan explores the ways in which the friars debated whether God was more

³² Jordan, 56–7, 59–60.

³³ *Chronica majora*, 80–4.

³⁴ Jordan, 36.

³⁵ Jordan, 35.

³⁶ Jordan, 42–6.

favorably moved toward those friars who avoided the world so as to refrain from staining their own souls with sin or those friars who risked worldly sin for the sake of saving other people's souls.³⁷ In regard to the cardinal protector, Jordan suggests that Francis considered the pope to be too busy with other matters to be able to devote sufficient time to the Friars Minor. In Jordan's view, this perception on Francis' part and the founder's belief that the order needed some oversight led him to insist that the papacy appoint a protector to liaise with the friars.³⁸ He even touches on the order's use of multiple languages while on mission in distant lands for the purposes of preaching and begging.³⁹ One might suppose that the friars begged him to write these tales down for the benefit of the order, because these debates were relevant to his audience and because Jordan placed them within often-humorous and engaging narratives. In this way, Jordan's *Chronica* wrestles with themes that were pertinent to his audience in a manner that highlights the relationships between memory and narrative.

The *Chronica* can be approached from different angles because of the subtleties within his narratives. For this reason, the complexity of the stories is best brought out by reviewing them two or more times from different themes or interpretive angles. Moreover, modern scholarship explores Franciscans' conceptualization of these themes separately, thereby contributing to the necessity of assessing these narratives within the contexts of distinct scholarly approaches. In this way, instead of dealing with each story once, this study attempts to explore the various subtleties in a thematic manner. The principal goal is to investigate

³⁷ Jordan, 52–4; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 4–6; Brooke, ed., *Scripta Leonis Rufini et Angeli*, 18–19, 53–66; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 14; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 1–41; Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars*, 26; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 60–4; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 205, 210–24; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 101–7, 119–40; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 40–1, 45–6; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 8–16, 96; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88, 111, 162–3, 165–6, 168–9.

³⁸ Jordan, 37–9.

³⁹ Jordan, 42–4, 46.

fully the nuances in the *Chronica* by working with the grain of other Franciscan texts and in line with the thematic structure of current scholarship in order to gain a fuller thematic understanding of the *Chronica*.

Historiography of the *Chronica* and the Approach for this Study

At different points in time, scholars have employed Jordan's *Chronica* to construct a historical narrative concerning the Franciscan order's entry into Germany or to recreate a history of Francis' life; however, this dissertation explores the text in terms of the construction of narrative from memory in the interests of formulating an institutional identity for the Friars Minor. Despite the exuberance of Jordan's confreres, and in part because of the limited dissemination of the *Chronica* within the region, the text received little attention until the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when a few chroniclers incorporated it into their works.⁴⁰ While the full extent of the *Chronica*'s transmission is unknown, copies survived in Königsberg (the manuscript was relocated to Krakow, Poland, during the 1940s) and in Karlsruhe (the manuscript survives only as a fragment); in Torun in Poland (manuscript transferred to Kórnik, Poland, at an unknown time); and in Rome (manuscript in abridged form). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Nicholas Glassberger utilized much of

⁴⁰ Heinrich Boehmer, *Chronica fratris Jordani*, Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen âge 6 (Paris: Fischbacher, 1908), xix–xlvii; Edwin J. Auweiler, "The 'Chronica Fratris Jordani a Giano'" (PhD diss. Catholic University of America, 1917), 13; Laureilhe, *Sur les routes d'Europe*, 19–20; Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 10–13; van der Vat, "Das chronogische Rätsel": 395–8; Gerold Fussenegger, "Wo liegt das 'Mittenwalde' der Chronik des Jordan von Giano?" *Franziskanische Studien* 24 (1949): 152–3; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 19–20, 28–9; Heullant-Donat, "Chronique de Jourdain," 2026; Gatto, "La Cronaca di Giordano da Giano," 430–7; Kajetan Esser, "Eine vollständige Handschrift der Chronik des Fr. Jordanus von Giano," in *Studia historico-ecclesiastica. Festgabe für L. G. Spätling*, Bibliotheca Pontificii Athenaei Antoniani 19 (Rome: Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, 1977), 419–51; Schlagetter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 7; Attilia Biancheri, ed., *La Cronaca : traduzione, introduzione e note*, Collana Francescana, Nuova Serie (Milan: Edizioni O.R., 1972), 2.

Jordan's text in his *Chronica aliaque Varia Documenta ad Historiam Fratrum Minorum*⁴¹ (1491), Johannis de Komorowo borrowed discrete selections for his *Tractatus Cronice Fratrum Minorum Observance a tempore Constanciensis Concilii et specialiter de Prouincia Polonie*⁴² (1508) and his *Memoriale Ordinis Fratris Minorum* (1534–1535),⁴³ and Francesco Gonzaga employed portions for his *De origine Seraphicae religionis Fra[n]ciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observa[n]ciae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus, admirabilique eius propagatione*⁴⁴ (1587). In these cases, the authors relied on the *Chronica* for its descriptions of the Franciscans' expansion into Germany, as they conceived of the *Chronica* as a regional history of the Friars Minor. After Gonzaga's text, though, the impetus for creating regional histories of the order subsided, as did further interest in Jordan's work. The *Chronica* and its manuscripts were eventually largely forgotten.

In the late nineteenth century, scholars rediscovered many texts related to Francis and the Franciscans, including the *Chronica*, but scholarly interest in these texts tended to be focused on those concerns of modern scholarship that have diverted attention away from the regional focus, topical themes, and mnemonic dimensions of Jordan's text. Indeed, interest in and attention toward Francis and the early history of the Friars Minor was fairly muted until Paul Sabatier indicated in *La Vie de S. François d'Assise* (1893) that scholars should not blithely trust the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts composed by the Friars Minor in Italy.

⁴¹ Nicholas Glassberger, "Chronica," *AF* 2.

⁴² Johannis de Komorowo, *Tractatus cronice Fratrum Minorum Obseruancie a tempore Constanciensis Concilii et specialiter de Prouincia Polonie*, ed. Heinrich Zeissberg von Ritter (Wien: K. Gerold's Sohn, 1873).

⁴³ de Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum a fr. Ioanne de Komorowo compilatum*, ed. Xawery Liske and Antoni Lorkiewicz, *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 5 (Leopoli: Sumpt. Acad. Scientiarum Cracov, 1888).

⁴⁴ Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae religionis Fra[n]ciscanae eiusque progressibus, de regularis observa[n]ciae institutione, forma administrationis ac legibus, admirabilique eius propagatione* (Rome: Basa, 1603).

Instead, he suggested that scholars should examine each text critically to ascertain which stories were the most reliable. Since 1893, much Franciscan historiography has consequently centered on the so-called Franciscan Question, or the reliability of the surviving sources for determining the details of Francis' life and his intentions for the early order. The primary concern of the Franciscan Question has been to construct the historical Francis, or a definitive narrative of Francis' life.⁴⁵ While this scholarship spurred the discovery, collection, and analysis of texts relating to Francis and the Franciscan order, recent historians have increasingly considered the Franciscan Question to be unrealistic because of lacunae in the evidence, contradictory sources, and a necessary reliance on documents composed decades—even a century—after Francis' death.⁴⁶ Moreover, debates that erupted in the decades following Francis' death complicate the reliability of those sources written after 1226, since these sources often reflect disagreements between Franciscans regarding the nature and identity of the order, particularly between those later characterized as Spirituals (friars arguing for a return to what they claim was Francis' original vision for the order as a small, intimate group living in humble poverty) and as Conventuals (friars who accepted changes as necessary for a growing, hierarchical, and “multinational” organization that could deliver a Franciscan path to salvation to an even larger number of people). This debate turned into open dispute in the 1290s, as we have seen.

For the purpose of writing a biography, Paul Sabatier attempted to determine what could be known about Francis of Assisi from the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century texts. To improve on Sabatier's example, though, twentieth-century scholars focused their efforts on

⁴⁵ Paul Sabatier, *Vie de s. François d'Assise*, Édition définitive (Paris: Fischbacher, 1931), i–li.

⁴⁶ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 153–61; Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 1–41; Moorman, *Franciscan Order*, xvii–xi; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 3–78; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 26–9.

searching European archives for more texts and on analyzing these texts for the dependability of their content. In this way, twentieth-century scholars developed the important issues that Sabatier raised with the Franciscan Question and recognized that a modern biography was impractical until this work was completed. After 1950, scholars followed two approaches; one camp worked to establish the earliest and most “authentic” medieval sources for the founder’s life, while another group attempted to “reconstruct the original forms of the testimonies.”⁴⁷ By the 1980s both methods had achieved the best results possible considering that the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century authors—who wrote their texts with the goal of glorifying Francis and his sanctity—did not worry about whether or not a given story was strictly factual. Beginning with Manselli’s *S. Francesco d’Assisi* (1982), which synthesized much of the previous century’s work, scholars have endeavored to ascertain which texts they should privilege in the composition of a biography. For instance, although Manselli relied largely on Francis’ writings, he also placed more weight on the “We who were with him” texts, since its authors had been the founder’s companions. However, as a consequence, he failed to consider that the authors, whether consciously or not, addressed disputes in the Franciscan order in the 1240s and 1250s, with the result that their stories do not necessarily reflect issues that were relevant to the 1210s and the 1220s. With the exception of Augustine Thompson’s *Francis of Assisi: A New Biography* (2012), the biographies that followed Manselli’s work have tended toward literary analysis of the sources and toward recounting Francis’ experiences and his follower’s reminiscences of him rather than critical analysis of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Franciscan texts.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 155–6.

⁴⁸ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 156–61; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 3–31, 40–204; Sophronius Clasen, “Von Franziskus der Legende zum Franziskus der Geschichte,” *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 29 (1966): 15–

As a result of the priorities of the scholarship, scholars during the twentieth century have tended to look at Jordan's text—as they did the Italian *legenda*—in terms of determining a timeline of Francis' deeds and activities, the nature of the primitive order, and the evolution of the Friars Minor. In this approach, scholars disregard much of Jordan's narrative, focused as it is on the order's expansion into Germany, since it has little to say directly about Francis or the development of the order in Italy. Furthermore, other than to note the *Chronica*'s similarities to a memoir, scholars have largely ignored the mnemonic character of this text, even though the text contains many suggestions that Jordan utilized his memory in order to construct the *Chronica*'s narrative. For example, as noted above, Jordan recounts that the friars at Halberstadt demanded that he write his memories down and suggested how to structure the resulting narrative. Additionally, as we will see, Jordan manipulates how he shares these memories as a means to heighten either tension or humor and to retain his audience's attention.

Admittedly, it is easy to overlook Jordan's *Chronica* within the context of the debate concerning the Historical Francis, since it appears at first glance to be mainly a late chronicle principally concerned with the friars in Germany. However, as noted above, the *Chronica* also provides information about the values that Jordan and friars in leadership positions thought were important in the order by mid century. As with members of any religious group, the Friars Minor viewed history through a set of lenses shaped by the order's particular

29; Sam Cavallin, "La Question Franciscaine comme problème philologique," *Eranos* 52 (1954): 239–70; Jacques Campbell, *I fiori dei tre compagni: Testi francescani latini ordinati con introduzione e note* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1967), ix–xxxii; Théophile Desbonnet, *From Intuition to Institution: The Franciscans*, trans. Paul Duggan and Jerry DuCharme, translation of *De l'intuition à l'institution: Les Franciscaines*, Paris: Éditions Franciscaines, 1983 (Chicago: Franciscan Herald, 1988), 1–2, 151–64; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 17–25, 61–3; Manselli, *Nos Qui cum Eo Fuimus: Contributo alla Questione Franciscana* (Rome: Bibliotheca Seraphica-Capuccina, 1980), 5–15; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 5–7; Edith Pásztor, "Gli scritti leonini," in *La "Questione francescana" dal Sabatier ad oggi*, Atti del I Convegno Internazionale, Assisi, 18–20 ottobre 1973 (Assisi: Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani, 1974), 201–12.

understanding of the world and its relationship with the divine. Despite this shared set of referents, each writer brought his or her own interpretation of the order and this relationship to his construction of history. Jordan's attempt at writing history came in 1262, long after Francis attracted his first adherents in the early 1200s and thirty-six years after his death. Despite the *Chronica*'s genesis from Jordan's personal memory and from Franciscan social memory, the text nonetheless serves as an important source of information about the development of the order.

Most studies of the text, mainly accompanying modern translations or Latin critical editions, merely summarize Jordan's narrative.⁴⁹ The sole exception to this approach is Lothar Hardick, who explored Franciscan practices and values in both Jordan's *Chronica* and Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* in *Nach Deutschland und England : Die Chroniken der Minderbrüder Jordan von Giano und Thomas von Eccleston* (1957).⁵⁰ Despite his scrutiny, Hardick still performs his analysis within the context of the Franciscan Question, meaning that he uses the *Chronica* to ascertain Francis' intentions for the order in the 1210s and 1220s and not with direct reference to German

⁴⁹ Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*; Auweiler, *The "Chronica fratris Jordani a Giano"*; Luigi Pompilj, ed., *La Cronaca* (Brescia: Morcelliana, 1932), 15–25, 28–31, 35–6; Little, "Chronicles of the Mendicant Friars," in *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series 81 (Manchester, Eng.: Manchester University Press, 1943), 88–91; Laureilhe, *Sur les routes d'Europe*, 15–24; Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 3–16; Biancheri, *La Cronaca*, 2–7; Aristide Cabassi and Feliciano Olgiati, "Introduction: Cronaca di Giordano da Giano," in *Fonti Francescane: Scritti e biografie di san Francesco d'Assisi, Chronache e altre testimonianze del primo secolo francescano, scritti e biografie di santa Chiara d'Assisi*, trans. Aristide Cabassi and Feliciano Olgiati (Assisi: Movimento Franciscano, 1977, 1978); Manfred Zips, *Franziskus von Assisi, vitae via*, (Wien: Praesens Verlag, 2006), 14–32; Dieter von Berg, "Jordan von Giano: Chronik," in *Franziskus-Quellen : Die Schriften des heiligen Franziskus, Lebensbeschreibungen, Chroniken und Zeugnisse über ihn und seinen Orden*, ed. Franciscus Clara, Dieter Berg, and Leonhard Lehmann (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker, 2009), 955–69;

Heullant-Danot, "Chronique." 2019–32; Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 63–4, 91; Schlageter, "Die Chronica des Bruders Jordan von Giano": 3–32.

⁵⁰ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 19–29, 37–40, 215–58.

Franciscan identity in the early 1260s.⁵¹

This dissertation breaks with scholarship on the Franciscan Question in several ways. First, in that this dissertation will look principally at organizational structure, memory, narrative, and identity instead of the careers of individuals, with the exception of Jordan. Although we will consider the “historical Jordan,” as it were, we will do so only from documents composed by him and solely to the extent that biographical information about him throws light on his composition of the *Chronica*. Second, in that we will consider each document as much as possible within the context of the precise time of its composition without extrapolating the matters under discussion within that text to an earlier time period if we can avoid doing so. In their analyses of a particular textual tradition, historians have sometimes considered the Franciscan *legenda* as reflections of the authors’ opinions at the time and place of composition—but this analysis has been piecemeal and hampered by an insistence on scrutinizing these documents for their reliability *vis-à-vis* the historical Francis or his intentions for the order.⁵² Since we are not mainly interested in either the historical Francis or his intentions, we can instead analyze the texts individually and in relation to each other as evidence of an evolving debate among the Franciscans over the nature and identity of their order, and with particular attention to how that debate differed between the friars in Italy and in Germany.

⁵¹ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 19–29, 37–40, 215–58.

⁵² Dal Pino, “Giordano da Giano e le prime missioni,” 231–2; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 97–8; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 78, 125, 127; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 153–63, 168–70.

Primary Sources Associated with the *Chronica*

For primary sources, the dissertation will focus on those thirteenth-century Franciscan writings that provide innovative interpretations of Francis of Assisi, of his followers, and of the Friars Minor, and not those works that reframe a previously provided narrative for a given purpose. The distinction being made is that some sources, such as Julian' of Speyer's *The Life of Saint Francis*⁵³ and Henri d'Avranches' *The Versified Life of Saint Francis*,⁵⁴ retell and recast the narratives found in Thomas of Celano's *The Life of Saint Francis* without adding any new information or interpretations of Francis and the Franciscans.⁵⁵ Instead, Julian recomposed Thomas' first *legendum* so that the narrative could be used to celebrate the Canonical Hours, while Henri d'Avranches revised the *legendum* in rhyme so that clerics and others could more easily memorize and recite the narrative. While important and artistically creative works in their own right, they do not reinterpret the Franciscan master narrative or add any new information or insights to our understanding of the memory of Francis or of the self-fashioning of the Franciscan order in a sufficiently significant manner for our purposes here. In contrast, all of Francis' writings, both of Thomas' *legenda* (*Life of Saint Francis* and *Remembrances of the Desire of the Soul*), John of Perugia's *legendum*, the multi-author *Legend of the Three Companions*, the multi-author "We who were with him" texts of the *Assisi Compilation*, Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, and Jordan's *Chronica*—which is to say those texts that meet the criterion of innovation mentioned earlier—either craft a new narrative or develop on an

⁵³ Iuliani de Spira, "Officium rhythmicum s. Francisci," *AF* X, 375–88.

⁵⁴ Henri d'Avranches, "Legenda s. Francisci versificata," *AF* X, 405–521.

⁵⁵ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 161–2.

existing narrative in order to construct a different interpretation of events for religious and/or political purposes.⁵⁶ It is this process of creating a new or a significantly reinterpreted narrative that provides us with the most helpful insights into how individuals and groups remembered events and how they shaped those memories for the purpose of creating a group identity for the Franciscan order.

Traditionally, scholars have linked Thomas' *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* and Jordan's *Chronica* whenever evaluating either one of these works;⁵⁷ however, the dissertation will consider the *Chronica* on its own and only bring in aspects of Thomas' text when they apply. The two texts seem similar for several reasons. First, Thomas and Jordan completed their texts within two years of each other: 1260 and 1262 respectively, which suggests that they address similar concerns and themes. Second, these works were composed in England and Germany, which indicates that the texts represent the voices of the friars in these provinces and not of their Italian confreres. Third, the essential topic of each text is the introduction of the Friars Minor into a province outside of Italy, which requires that the authors must rely on mission as the principle theme through which they communicate Franciscan identity. Fourth, both texts mention Francis and events in Italy from a distance

⁵⁶ Brooke, *The Coming of the Friars*, 23–4; Brooke, ed., *Scripta Leonis*, 17–25, 61–3; Robson, *The Franciscans*, 6–7; Jay A. Wayne Hellman, “Francis of Assisi: Saint, Founder, Prophet,” in *Francis of Assisi: History, Hagiography and Hermeneutics in the Early Documents*, ed. Jay M. Hammond (New York: New City Press, 2004), 17–29; Ingrid Peterson, “Clare of Assisi: Hidden Behind Which Image of Francis?,” in *Francis of Assisi: History, Hagiography and Hermeneutics in the Early Documents*, ed. Jay M. Hammond (New York: New City Press, 2004), 39–54, 57–8; William J. Short, “Francis, the ‘New’ Saint in the Tradition of Christian Hagiography: Thomas of Celano’s *Life of Saint Francis*,” in *Francis of Assisi: History, Hagiography and Hermeneutics in the Early Documents*, ed. Jay M. Hammond (New York: New City Press, 2004), 153–63; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 161–8.

⁵⁷ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 7–9, 30, 33–4, 47, 49, 52, 68, 81, 83, 87–8, 90–2, 215–18, 225, 228, 234–5, 241, 245, 249, 255, 257; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 77; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 143; Laureilhe, *Sur les routes d’Europe*, 6–8; Hermman, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, vii–viii, xv–xvii; von Berg, “Jordan von Giano: Chronik,” 955–1011; Stanislao da Campagnola, *Le origini francescane come problema storiografico*, 2nd edition (Perugia: Università degli studi, 1979), 255–76; Heullant-Donat, “Chronique de Jourdain,” 2019, 2030–2; Biancheri, ed., *La Cronaca*, 4–5; Dal Pino, “Giordano da Giano e la prime missioni,” 203–8, 215; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 162.

and briefly, with the result that the authors say very little about the founder or Italy. For scholars focused on the Historical Francis or on the first decades of the order's political and hierarchical evolution, these factors diminish the perceived value of these texts.

By contrast, this dissertation is more concerned with the dissimilarities between the texts. First, the manner of composition is different in that Thomas compiled and kept notes over the years for the purpose of writing *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, while Jordan composed the *Chronica* from memory during a short period in April of 1262. This contrast suggests that the manner in which Jordan composed the *Chronica* is closer to how modern concepts of oral history approach the way in which people compose narratives from memory, as we will discuss further in Chapter 1. Second, Thomas' text indicates that the author had not completed his work, which suggests that Thomas was constantly editing or organizing his narrative,⁵⁸ while the *Chronica* conveys a coherent narrative. Third, even though both authors were educated clerics, only Jordan accepted positions in the order's hierarchy and worked to expand the Friars Minor into a new region, which suggests that he better understood the needs of, and obstacles to, the order's growth. Fourth, these texts were contextualized in such a way that a revealing contrast emerges, granting a better understanding of Franciscan perceptions of mission. These contexts are Thomas' concentration solely on the Franciscans' effective entrance into England and Jordan's placement of the friars' successful entrances into Germany in relationship to earlier mission efforts that largely failed. Fifth, these texts suggest that Jordan was more attuned to wider debates within the order regarding Franciscan identity, since Thomas only occasionally touches on subjects addressed in the Italian *legenda*, whereas Jordan frequently does so.

⁵⁸ Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 86–7; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 215; Little, *Tractatus Fr. Thomae*, xxi.

It is important to note that the order as a whole never wrestled with Thomas' or Jordan's works, since (with the exception of an abridged version of the *Chronica*) neither of these texts circulated outside of England, Germany, and Poland. This regional isolation is important because it suggests that the order largely formulated its identity within specific regional frameworks, and that only the Italian hagiographical texts influenced all of these frameworks. Consequently, these two works reveal perspectives that individuals in the provinces felt were important but which did not necessarily enter the dominant Italian narrative. For our purposes here, this dissertation will focus on those aspects of the *Chronica*'s narrative construction that were less mediated (or, rather, wherein Jordan did not benefit from consulting textual sources that could have informed his narrative construction) or that were the result of only a short-term deliberative process (which is to say that the *Chronica* was written in a brief period of time after the provincial chapter at Halberstadt in 1262 and not over the course of several years or decades). Since Jordan spent only a short time thinking about which stories to include and how to structure them, it is not unreasonable to regard Jordan as a candid and straightforward author, or at least as a writer constructing his authorial persona in such terms.

Organization of this Study

This dissertation begins with Chapter 1 "Jordan, The *Chronica*, and Genre: Chronicles, Memoirs, and Oral History," which assesses whether and to what extent the *Chronica* can be regarded as a chronicle, memoir, or oral history. It is useful to reconsider how we might categorize Jordan's text, since the manner in which a work is classified influences the ways in which scholars read and analyze that work. In this vein, the chapter argues two interrelated

points. First, it contends that Jordan necessarily relied on memory to compose the *Chronica*, because he had not developed the literary experience nor performed any research to write a chronicle. Second, it argues that the *Chronica* shares numerous similarities with the genres of chronicles, annals, autobiography, memoir, and oral history without fitting exactly in any one of these genres, meaning that we should categorize it more as a memory-based chronological narrative than as a chronicle or a memoir, even though most historians have approached the text in these terms.

Chapter 2 “Theory and Methodology: Memory, Narrative, and Identity” explores theories regarding how the process of remembering functions, how individuals and groups use their memories to produce narratives, and how these narratives express personal and group identities either to set themselves apart from others or to create group cohesion. Consequently, the dissertation maintains that, much like modern oral historians, we should use studies on the role of memory in constructing identity narratives to analyze the *Chronica*, since the text was apparently composed solely from Jordan’s memory. By applying this methodology to our analysis of the *Chronica*, we can better understand how the text engages with Franciscan identity in the mid-thirteenth century.

These investigations of memory then inform Chapter 3 “Memory and Mission in Jordan’s *Chronica*,” as it explores the manner in which Jordan structured the *Chronica* so as to discuss mission. This investigation considers the possibility that Jordan was in dialogue with an oral tradition that was partially preserved in the Italian *legenda*. Moreover, it is argued that Jordan relied on this oral tradition as one of his primary sources of information and then used the *Chronica* to respond to ideas and traditions that were disseminated among the Friars Minor during the order’s first four decades of existence.

Chapters 4 and 5 grapple with two important themes that feature in the text, the Franciscan ideas of martyrdom and mission, but they approach the topic in different ways. Chapter 4, “Early Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Martyrdom: Temporal or Spiritual Interpretations,” considers whether the thirteenth-century Friars Minor thought about martyrdom either in terms of temporality (a physical encounter with humans intent on subverting belief in Christian doctrine or on preventing attacks on Muslim tenets) or spirituality (a mystical battle with demons determined to undermine an individual’s faith in God), or, rather, whether the friars sought martyrdom as a death earned by confronting nonbelievers—particularly Muslims—or else achieved martyrdom figuratively by confronting demons. This exploration aids us in determining how Jordan presents the order’s ideological convictions regarding martyrdom within thirteenth-century Franciscan ideologies of mission.

By contrast, Chapter 5, “Early-Thirteenth Century Franciscan Mission: Confrontational or Confessional Interpretations,” examines how the friars’ ideas regarding Franciscan humility and their style of preaching affected the manner in which the Friars Minor in the early thirteenth century exhorted people to the Christian faith: through conflict with nonbelievers over the falsity of their doctrines or through explanations of the veracity of the Catholic faith. Jordan adds to this analysis by addressing the manner in which friars tried to communicate Christian tenets to the laity in lands far from Italy.

Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 are also connected through a common theme inspired by the emphases of the *Chronica*, that of the clericalization and education of the Franciscan order. Chapter 6 “Franciscan Clericalization and Education: Interconnections with Simplicity” focuses on how these trends during the early decades of the order interacted with the

Franciscan ideal of simplicity. While the order accepted a growing number of clerics into its ranks, a vocal minority of the Friars Minor struggled to advocate a life of simplicity as a preferred alternative to one of study. Although the *Chronica* appears to be sympathetic toward educated friars, particularly those who served in the order's hierarchy, Jordan's portrayal of Nicholas the Humble (an advocate of simplicity) suggests a more nuanced perspective in which the Friars Minor are presented thereby striking a balance between these two seemingly conflicting ideals.

Chapter 7, "Franciscan Clericalization and Education: Interconnections with Mission," looks more directly at how clericalization and education affected mission. As mid-thirteenth-century Franciscan authors outside of Italy, Thomas of Eccleston and Jordan of Giano permit us to look into whether or not English and German friars perceived of clericalization and education differently than did their Italian confreres. The eighth chapter, entitled "Missions as Justification for Appointing a Cardinal Protector," investigates the friars' perceptions of their order's relationship with the pontiff. While the papacy took the order under its direct protection, Francis asked to have a cardinal act as an intermediary between the pope and the Friars Minor. However, Thomas of Celano, John of Perugia and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan offer fairly different accounts as to the founder's reasoning for wanting the order to have a cardinal protector. By exploring these narratives within the context of the order's clericalization, the versions within John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the *Chronica* can be shown to employ the cardinal protector as a personification of the Franciscans' internal tensions relating to obedience, simplicity, and mission.

Chapter 9, "Franciscan Clericalization and Education: Interconnections with Language,"

engages with Jordan's narrative regarding the advantages that the friars experienced when they could speak the same language as the local population. Indeed, he includes stories in which the participants on missions fail or succeed based upon their ignorance or knowledge of the local language, and in which a friar feigns unfamiliarity with German in order to acquire more alms from the German laity. These stories in the *Chronica*, which are unique in early Franciscan texts, given expression to Jordan's own experiences with respect to the manner in which command of two or more languages benefited those friars who expanded the order into a new region. However, the *Chronica* also suggests a wider linkage between clericalization, education, and multilingualism, a connection that provides a unique insight into the dynamics of Franciscan mission.

These themes collectively engage with aspects of Jordan's text in order to elucidate debates on a range of interconnected questions that confronted the order. Since Jordan, as an educated cleric who took positions of authority in the Franciscan order and who worked to expand the order away from Assisi, composed the *Chronica* for an audience of likeminded friars in the German province, these themes reflect the concerns of this particular subgroup within the Friars Minor at midcentury. As a result, Jordan approaches these themes in a manner that is often distinct from the way in which the Italian Franciscan authors—who wrote for all of Christendom (Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*), for the order as a whole (the *Legend of the Three Companions* and Thomas' *Remembrances of the Desire of a Soul*), for the purpose of being included in a work for the entire order (the "We who were with him" texts), or for a small group of friars in a given locale (John of Perugia's *legendum*)—composed their works. Moreover, since Jordan employs mission as the foundational theme for the *Chronica*, the manner in which he touches on these other motifs

must, of necessity, be addressed within the context of mission. This orientation stands in contrast with the Italian texts, since they were written to emphasize the role of Francis, his spirituality, or his companions.

A Brief Methodological Overview

While this dissertation's methodology is explored in greater detail in Chapters 1 and 2, it suffices here to note that this study investigates Franciscan identity narratives by exploring how memory and narrative construction affected and reflected the manner in which Franciscans discussed their order's identity among themselves. This study mostly utilizes three primary types of Franciscan sources: Francis' writings, the Franciscan Italian *legenda*, and the provincial mission texts (Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, written in England, and Jordan's *Chronica*, composed in Germany). Francis' writings (letters, sermons, admonitions, rules, and a testament) provide evidence for Francis' thoughts on some of the issues under discussion and, in a few cases, the evolution of how he understood these matters. The Italian *legenda* consist of Thomas of Celano's (c. 1200–c. 1265) *The Life of Saint Francis* (1228–1229), John of Perugia's *legendum* (1240–1241), the *Legend of the Three Companions* (1241–1247), the “We who were with him” texts of *The Assisi Compilation* (1244–1260), and Thomas of Celano's *The Remembrances of the Desire of a Soul* (1245–1247). These Italian texts, Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, and Jordan's *Chronica* are central to our explorations because they depict Franciscan identity after Francis' death. However, it is important to note that each author, composing his text at different places and points in time, presented the order's practices and values as he understood them within his given temporal and geographical

frames of reference. The dissertation's methodology will be to compare how the friars depicted these practices and values and placed meaning within them. To access the values and tensions within Jordan's *Chronica* as they compare with those in the Italian *legenda*, we will draw on two interrelated areas of theoretical investigation: the first is the effect of memory on narrative construction and the second the study of narrative structure, or narratology. Psychologists, sociologists and oral historians have researched the relationships between memory storage and recall, narrative construction, and identity formation since at least the middle of the twentieth century as a means to understand how people, such as historical witnesses, interpret and find meaning in the things they see from a distance and in the events in which they participated.⁵⁹ In turn, these relationships necessitate the use of narratological explorations into how people assemble the stories that they share and, thereby, how these narratives relay the authors' and the organization's values that reinforce identity.

Thus, this dissertation investigates three related processes: first Jordan's composition of

⁵⁹ Marc Augé, *Oblivion*, trans. Marjolijn de Jager (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004), 20; Jean-Paul Sartre, *The Psychology of Imagination* (London: Methuen, 1972), 210; Geoffrey Cubitt, *History and Memory* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 76–89; Mary Warnock, *Memory* (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1987), 37–52, 83–90; Frederic Charles Bartlett, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge: The University Press, 1932), 13, 199–214; H. Roediger and K. McDermott, "Distortions of Memory," in *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*, ed. Endel Tulving and Fergus I. M. Craik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 149–62; Scott Brown and Fergus Craik, "Encoding and Retrieval of Information," in *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*, ed. Endel Tulving and Fergus I. M. Craik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93–108; Magda Michielsens, "Memory Frames: the Role of Concepts and Cognition in Telling Life-Stories," in *Feminism and Autobiography: Texts, Theories, Methods*, ed. Tess Cosslett, Celia Lury, and Penny Summerfield (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), 183–4; Daniel L. Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory: How the Mind Forgets and Remembers* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001); E. Loftus, J. Feldman, and R. Dashiell, "The Reality of Illusory Memories," in *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge, Mass.; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1995), 47–67; Ulric Neisser, "John Dean's Memory: A Case Study," *Cognition* 9 (1981): 1–22; Neisser, ed., *Memory Observed: Remembering in Natural Contexts* (San Francisco: W. H. Freeman, 1982), 139–59; Alessandro Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli: Memory and the Event," in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State of University of New York, 1991), 1–26; Alice M. Hoffman and Howard S. Hoffman, "Reliability and Validity in Oral History: The Case for Memory," in *Memory and History: Essays on Recalling and Interpreting Experience*, ed. Jaclyn Jeffrey and Glenace Edwall (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1994), 107–35; Michael T. Clanchy, "Remembering the Past and the Good Old Law," *History* 44:184 (June 1970): 165–81; Walter J. Ong and John Hartley, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, 30th anniversary ed. (New York: Routledge, 2012), 95; Sarah Foot, "Remembering, Forgetting, and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Sixth Series, Vol. 9, (1999): 185–200.

the *Chronica* as a Franciscan identity narrative constructed from memory, second the process through which the order debated its identity from Francis' death in 1226 through the composition of the *Chronica* in 1262, and third the manner in which Jordan used the *Chronica* to acknowledge that debate over Franciscan identity and to participate in the discussion. To investigate the *Chronica*'s themes and use of memory, we will address two main questions regarding the *Chronica*. First, considering the context in which Jordan composed his *Chronica*, how may we analyze the text? What interpretative strategies may be deployed? Second, on what sources did Jordan rely and how did his choices affect the character of his narrative, the themes of the *Chronica*, and the use of memory? These two questions run through each chapter individually and cumulatively.

CHAPTER 1: JORDAN, THE *CHRONICA*, AND GENRE: CHRONICLES, MEMOIRS, AND ORAL HISTORY

Is Jordan of Giano's *Chronica* a chronicle, an annal, or a memoir? While, Jordan structures his text by listing events in a chronological order for many of the years from 1207 to 1262, he also often recounts these events either from his personal point of view or with himself as a participant. Indeed, in the Prologue, Jordan emphasizes the mnemonic nature of his work by asserting the possibility that his memory might err regarding the year in which events occurred, since he is already an old and weak man.¹ Because Jordan obscures the distinction between these two genres, scholars have long characterized the *Chronica* as either a chronicle or annal (by underscoring the text's chronological structure) or as a memoir (by highlighting Jordan's composition of the text from memory and his inclination to place himself as a participant in the events that he recounts). Although scholars have noted this dual aspect of the text, the relationship between these facets of the *Chronica* has not been fully explored.

In order to investigate this connection between the text's structure as a chronicle and Jordan's use of memory, it is helpful to consider the manner in which individuals utilize memory in order to construct narratives. As an entry into this topic, though, it will be helpful

¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Super annorum vero numero, sicubi per oblivionem utpote iam senex et debilis ut homo erravi, veniam postulo a lectore monens, ut ubicumque me errasse invenerit, caritative corrigat et emendet. Similiter et stilum scriptoris et ruditatem dictaminis qui verbis magis politis ornare voluerit, bene volumus. Sufficit enim materiam dedisse dictatoribus eximiis et dictandi arte politis." For an example of possible errors in Jordan's memory, see Jordan, 49. Chapter 36: "Anno domini 1223. frater Johannes de Plano Carpinis ordinem dilatans misit plures discretos fratres in Hildenseym et in Brunsweyc et in Goslariam et in Magdeburg et in Halberstat." See also Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 176. While acknowledging Jordan's assertion about the establishment of convents in Brunswick, Goslar, and Halberstadt, Freed notes that the first documentary proof for these convents occurs in 1232, 1249, and 1259 respectively.

to look at Jordan's life and political career in terms of his preparation for becoming a chronicler, so as to ascertain how his life experiences and use of sources informed his construction of the *Chronica*. Next, it will be helpful to explore the manner in which the *Chronica* fits with respect to the genres of chronicles, annals, memoirs, biography, and oral history. Our exploration of these genres is prompted by the fact that the way in which an individual classifies a text typically prompts her or him, even if subconsciously, to bring certain assumptions to his or her interpretation of that text. By re-evaluating which genre or genres might be most appropriate for a classification of the *Chronica*, we can question our assumptions regarding the text and the manner in which we should approach it for analysis. Consequently, one may inquire how we should think about the *Chronica* if it exhibits characteristics of chronicles, annals, memoirs, and autobiographies. However, we also need to take a wider taxonomical approach in our investigation of categories for the *Chronica* for the purpose of determining how to analyze Jordan's text. For this reason, we will add autobiography, because of its similarities to the memoir genre, and oral history, since this discipline is intrinsically involved in exploring the connections between memory and narrative. The questions that we will ask are whether or not Jordan intended—and therefore prepared—to write the *Chronica* at the end of his career, how the manner in which he composed this text influences how we might categorize it, and what our attempts at categorization imply for our analytical methodology.

Jordan of Giano: Career Politician and Accidental Chronicler

It is a fair assumption that an individual who composes a text has usually planned to do so long before beginning. Such a predisposition implies, though, that the person has made

preparations for the composition, such as by conducting research and by collecting eyewitness testimony. However, it is profitable to consider whether an author spent years or only a few days about how to compose a narrative and how the length of that premeditation impacts the type and amount of information that he or she provides.

While the structure of the *Chronica* might dispose us to characterize Jordan as a chronicler, his time in the provincial leadership of the Franciscan order indicates more of a political life than a literary one. In fact, Jordan was neither an archivist nor a scholar but was instead a career administrator in the Friars Minor. For instance, Jordan rose in the order, having served as Guardian in Speyer² and in Mainz,³ as Custodian in Thuringia,⁴ as Provincial Vicar in Poland,⁵ and as Vice Minister Provincial in Bohemia and Poland.⁶ During these years, he participated in the 1221 Chapter at Assisi, in the resulting mission to Thuringia,⁷ in the deposition of Elias of Assisi (d. 1253) from his position as General Minister of the order,⁸ and in warning the western nobility about the dangers posed in Poland and Bohemia by the Mongol invasions.⁹ Furthermore, while he was the Franciscan Vice Minister of Poland, he wrote a politically adroit letter to Duke Henry of Brabant that served

² Jordan, 48. Chapter 33.

³ Jordan, 49. Chapter 38.

⁴ Jordan, 49–54, 57–8 (Chapters 38–49, 58–9); Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 27–8; Schlageter, “Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano”: 13–14.

⁵ *Chronica majora*, 80–1.

⁶ *Chronica majora*, 81–4.

⁷ Jordan, 39–54. Chapters 38–49.

⁸ Jordan, 59–60 (Chapters 61–6); Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, lxii–lxiii; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 154–67.

⁹ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 22–7.

in part to promote the career of the landgrave of Thuringia.¹⁰ Similarly, Jordan tells us a great deal in the *Chronica* about the internal politics of the Friars Minor in Germany.¹¹ Indeed, Jordan's political career orientation suggests that the acquisition of literary qualifications for authoring a text as such a chronicle was not a priority.

Thus, Jordan's career path, as he presents it in the *Chronica*, indicates that he was a career politician and an accidental chronicler, since he describes a trajectory in which he concentrated on expanding the order and not on literary efforts. Even though he could have led a political career with the intent of chronicling his experiences after retiring, Jordan does not seem to have prepared for the act of writing, as we will explore further in Chapter 3, either by keeping notes or by retaining copies of texts that he could consult. Instead, Jordan implies in his text that he was more interested in organizational activities by the way that he emphasizes the friars' movements throughout the German region. For instance, he recounts how the friars entered Germany in 1221;¹² how the friars were placed in various cities;¹³ how the order expanded into new regions under provincial ministers Caesar of Speyer,¹⁴ Albert of Pisa,¹⁵ and John of Pian de Carpine;¹⁶ and how Jordan led a mission into Thuringia.¹⁷ He also

¹⁰ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 22–7.

¹¹ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 243.

¹² Jordan, 40–4. Chapters 16–22.

¹³ Jordan, 44–7. Chapters 23–28.

¹⁴ Jordan, 43–5, 47. Chapters 19–26, 30–1.

¹⁵ Jordan, 47–9, 52–4, 55 (Chapters 32–8, 47, 49, 51); Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 183–94.

¹⁶ Jordan, 48–9, 56. Chapters 33–6, 54–5, 57.

¹⁷ Jordan, 49–54, 56–8. Chapters 38–49, 58–60.

mentions the transition of leadership for the provincial ministers for Saxony¹⁸ and for the general ministers in Assisi.¹⁹ By contrast, he avoids overt literary sources other than to mention that he will gloss over the *legenda* written about Francis,²⁰ that Thomas of Celano wrote two *legenda* about Francis,²¹ and that Julian of Speyer wrote offices for both Francis and Anthony of Padua.²² In other words, Jordan shows little interest in literary works such as hagiographical texts but pays more attention to the order's political evolution.

Additionally, Jordan initially resisted composing the *Chronica* when the friars at the Halberstadt provincial chapter urged him to do so, and he cited his health and an unwillingness to undertake the task. Allowing for the wordings of the humility *topos*, his disinclination to compose the *Chronica* prompts us to consider two questions: one of education, literary, or physical ability, bearing upon why he needed an amanuensis, and one of hesitancy, given that he seemingly did not want his memories recorded. Jordan himself conveys that he doubted his own ability to write the chronicle because of his advanced age and because of his physical frailty, though he does not provide any details.²³ Regarding the question of education, literary, or physical ability, Jordan's educational level was adequate

¹⁸ Jordan, 33, 41–3, 47–8, 54–8, 60–3. Prologue and chapters 17–19, 31–3, 50–4, 57–60, 63–6, 68–9, 72, 75, 78.

¹⁹ Jordan, 54–5, 59–63. Chapters 50–1, 61, 66, 70–1, 73, 76.

²⁰ Jordan, 34. Chapter 1: “Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in *legenda* declarator, hic supersedemus.”

²¹ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: “Thoma de Zelano qui *legendam* sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit.”

²² Jordan, 55. Chapter 53: “Fratres ergo Simon, veniens in Theutonium cum fratre Juliano, qui postmodum historiam beati Francisci et beati Anthonii nobili stilo et pulchra melodia composuit, indixit in Coloniam in festo apostolorum Simonis et Iude capitulum provinciale celebrandum.”

²³ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Super annorum vero numero, sicubi per oblivionem utpote iam senex et debilis ut homo erravi, veniam postulo a lectore monens, ut ubicumque me errasse invenerit, caritative corrigat et emendet.”

because he had likely attended clerical school in his hometown of Giano;²⁴ however, the *Chronica*'s grammar and syntax suggest that Jordan's literacy was less sophisticated within the overall context of his clerical Franciscan milieu. This moderate level of education indicates that he did not have the training to compose the *Chronica* unaided, which would explain why Jordan needed Baldwin of Brandenburg to transcribe and to correct his Latin.²⁵ Additionally, considering his age and status as a retired friar, we might also postulate that Jordan might have experienced some form of health decline, such as failing eyesight or frailty in his arms or hands, that was sufficient to prevent him from writing and required Baldwin's aid. We cannot expect ever to resolve this question with any finality, since Jordan does not provide adequate information.

The question of Jordan's hesitancy to record his memories is more difficult to assess, but it is possible that his reticence arose through a perceived lack of an educational or literary ability, through a general distaste for writing, or through a desire to avoid putting worldly gossip in written form. While this unwillingness could have stemmed in part from an inability to write, as discussed above, it does not fully explain why Jordan continued to resist after Baldwin of Brandenburg offered his time and abilities and after Minister Provincial Bartholomew commanded the old friar to dictate his memories. Indeed, Jordan explains his reasoning for conceding in terms of obedience to authority and cites two selections of Scripture to back up his decision to acquiesce.²⁶ Jordan's emphasis on obedience by quoting scripture, a fairly rare practice in the *Chronica*, indicates that this is a matter of deep

²⁴ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 20, 28; Pompilj, *La Cronaca*, 14, 37.

²⁵ von Berg, "Jordan von Giano: Chronik," 960.

²⁶ Jordan, 33–4 (Prologue); Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 174.

importance.

One possible explanation is that his reticence originated in concepts of Franciscan humility and Francis' prescriptions against idle talk. In *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, Thomas of Celano writes that Francis frowned on gossip relating to worldly matters ("Non licebat ibidem alicui otiosa verba proferre"), urged his followers to focus their discussions on the sublime, and designated penalties for friars who indiscriminately let loose their tongues on non-spiritual topics.²⁷ Although Thomas of Eccleston, in *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, recounts how the friars in England talked about edifying matters at the end of each day, he nonetheless indicates that they became so playful that they had fun trying to snatch the beer dregs from each other, thereby indicating that they found it difficult to lead purely spiritual lives despite Francis' example and proscriptions.²⁸ Jordan also demonstrates his human qualities in several ways, some of the most prominent being his resistance to Bartholomew's command of holy obedience in the Prologue,²⁹ his desire not to participate in the 1221 mission to Germany because he feared that the Italian heretics and German barbarians might corrupt his faith,³⁰ and his attention to the worldly and political movements

²⁷ 2 Celano, 142–3, 161. "Nolebat ut fratres existentes ibidem, qui sub certo numero arctabantur, ad saecularium relationem *prurirent auribus*, ne contemplatione intermissa caelestium ad inferiorum commercia per rumigerulos traherentur. Non licebat ibidem alicui *otiosa verba* proferre, nec referre prolata per alios."

²⁸ Eccleston, 6–8. "Sed cum scholares in vespera domum redissent, intraverunt domum, in qua sederant, et ibi faciebant sibi ignem, et sederunt juxta eum, et ollulam nonnunquam cum faecibus cerevisiae, cum collationem bibere deberent, posuerunt super ignem, et posuerunt discum in olla et biberunt circulariter, et dixerunt singuli aliquod verbum aedificationis. . . . Simile quoque frequenter accidit apud Sarum, ubi cum tanta iocunditate et laetitia fratres faeces circa ignem in coquina collationis hora biberunt, ut felicem se reputaret qui ab alio amicabiliter rapere posset eas."

²⁹ Jordan, 33–4. Prologue: "[F]ratrum devoto desiderio statui annuere, maxime fratre Baldavino de Brandenburch me ad hoc instigante, qui et sponte et a fratre Bartholomeo, tunc ministro Saxonie, iussus se obtulit ad scribendum."

³⁰ Jordan, 40–1. Chapter 18: "Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumperetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare."

of the order's friars throughout the *Chronica*.

This explanation could be countered by the lessons to be drawn from Franciscan texts produced in Italy, since friars in and around Assisi willingly put their memories of Francis to parchment. Indeed, these friars freely recorded their memories in an official *legendum* (Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*)³¹ and in semi-official or unofficial *legenda* (the so-called *Anonymous of Perugia*,³² the *Legend of the Three Companions*,³³ and the "We who were with him" texts of the *Assisi Compilation*).³⁴ With the General Chapter in 1244, Crescentius of Iesi³⁵ issued a request throughout the order for the friars to write down their memories of Francis for a second official *legendum*, Thomas' *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*.³⁶ However, as we will discuss at greater length in Chapter 3, Jordan exhibits no awareness of Crescentius' appeal, which by the time he produced the *Chronica* was sometime in the past, and the unofficial *legenda* received no circulation, which suggests that Jordan would not have been aware of these works.

Despite the apparently rehearsed nature of Jordan's personal stories, these tales could have been interpreted as idle talk as they did not glory in the sublime. While he was willing to share these stories orally with a small group, he might have viewed putting them on parchment as a more serious matter, since it would put his readiness to take part in gossip in

³¹ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 39–50.

³² Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 127–38.

³³ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 147–57.

³⁴ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–27.

³⁵ Marino Bigaroni, "Compilatio Assisiensis" dagli Scritti di fra Leone e Compagni su S. Francesco d'Assisi: dal Ms. 1046 di Perugia, *Il edizione integrale riveduta e corretta con versione italiana a fronte e varianti* (Assisi: Tipolitografia Porziuncola, 1992), xxxi–xxxiv; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 251; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 26–35; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 102–34, 138–9, 143, 146–9.

³⁶ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 138.

a more permanent form and display it to a greater number of friars; however, Jordan might have acquiesced under the urging of his confreres.³⁷ That the other friars at Halberstadt wanted these memories preserved indicates that they saw his stories in a different light than he did. This different perspective could easily have arisen either from greater distance in time and place from those who experienced Francis' disdain for gossip or from a conviction that the tales revered Francis' holiness and deserved preservation. Whatever the reason, Jordan's hesitancy emphasizes his lack of desire to fulfill this task, making him a self-professedly reluctant chronicler.

Jordan's unwillingness to compose the *Chronica* is also reflected in his reliance on his memory as his source for information instead of consulting written sources or other eyewitnesses. Since the friars at Halberstadt compelled him to record his memories after the provincial chapter had ended, Jordan composed the text in a short period, since he composed it after the 1262 provincial chapter at Halberstadt had ended, which suggests that he worked quickly and without performing any research. Although chroniclers often attempted to find and to refer to—or even to incorporate—other sources, Jordan indicates that he will not repeat information found in the *legenda*.³⁸ For example, Thomas of Eccleston referred to notes that he had kept on the order in England for twenty-six years when he wrote *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* (1258–1260),³⁹ and Bonaventure consulted and cited the *legenda* and offices composed by Thomas of Celano and Julian of Speyer when he wrote

³⁷ Jordan, 33–4. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem” and “[F]ratrum devoto desiderio statui annuere, maxime fratre Baldavino de Brandenburch me ad hoc instigante.”

³⁸ Jordan, 33. Chapter 1: “Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declaratur, hic supersedemus.”

³⁹ Eccleston, 1; Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 82.

his *Major Legend*.⁴⁰ By contrast, a close reading of the *Chronica* reveals that Jordan relied on his memory for events that he had witnessed, for information from such texts as Thomas of Celano's *legenda*, and for stories that he had heard from other individuals. In other words, his use of other sources was mediated completely through memory without directly consulting written texts. For instance, Jordan mentions Thomas' *legenda* and Julian of Speyer's Offices, but he makes no attempt to refer directly to their contents, preferring to tell his readers that he will not duplicate any information or narratives that they report.⁴¹ As a result, Jordan provides no evidence that he read any texts immediately prior to dictation, which would have reminded him of how the Friars Minor thought about events as they occurred during the previous forty years. While we can consider that Jordan might have remembered some of the thought patterns and modes of reasoning of earlier years, we equally must suspect at the same time that these memories were compromised by the passage of time. The significance, then, of interpreting Jordan as a career politician who had not prepared to write a chronicle of the order in Germany resides in this reliance on memory and the manner in which he utilized memory to compose the narrative of the events that we find in the *Chronica*.

Difficulty in Categorizing the *Chronica*

It is helpful to consider how scholars have classified Jordan's *Chronica*, since the manner in which we categorize a text influences the way in which we analyze it. With this and the

⁴⁰ Armstrong, "Introduction: The Legends and Sermons about Saint Francis by Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1255–1267)," in *FA:ED* 2, 501–2.

⁴¹ Jordan, 34. Chapter 1: "Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declaratur, hic supersedemus." Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 20, 83; von Berg, "Jordan von Giano: Chronik," 960. Hermann suggests that Jordan refers to Bonaventure's *legenda*, but Bonaventure was still writing the *Major Legend* and *Minor Legend* in October of 1262, several months after Jordan finished composing his *Chronica*. Jordan most likely refers to Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* and *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*.

following sections, we will review how various categorizations pertain to and affect our analysis of the *Chronica*. For now, it is worth examining the manner in which historians have had trouble categorizing Jordan's text.

Because of Jordan's concentration on his memory, historians have categorized the *Chronica* as a chronicle, as an annal, or as a memoir or have treated it as a traditional chronicle without classifying further. For instance, Heinrich Boehmer describes the *Chronica* as containing "Jordan of Giano's memories,"⁴² while Placid Hermann calls it Jordan's "memoirs."⁴³ For their part, John R. H. Moorman, David Burr, and Augustine Thompson characterize Jordan as a chronicler⁴⁴ while Johannes Schlageter argues that the *Chronica* has the outer form of a chronicle, but that it does not truly provide an overview of historical events.⁴⁵ Several historians, such as Luigi Pompilj,⁴⁶ Lothar Hardick,⁴⁷ Rosalind B. Brooke,⁴⁸ John B. Freed,⁴⁹ and Marco Bartoli and Alfonso Marini,⁵⁰ draw attention to Jordan's reliance on memory while simultaneously calling the *Chronica* a chronicle or as containing annal-like entries. However, a number of historians, including C. H. Lawrence,⁵¹ Grado Giovanni

⁴² Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*. x.

⁴³ Hermann, "Introduction," in *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, xv.

⁴⁴ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88, 90, 111; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 17, 63, 67–9, 98, 101, 169, 292–3; Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 12–3.

⁴⁵ Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano": 6.

⁴⁶ Pompilj, *La Cronaca*, 9–42.

⁴⁷ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 19.

⁴⁸ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 20–2.

⁴⁹ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 21, 27–8, 34, 126, 128, 139, 159, 174–5.

⁵⁰ Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 63–4, 91.

⁵¹ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43–4, 48, 180.

Merlo,⁵² Neslihan Şenocak,⁵³ and Michael Robson,⁵⁴ eschew classification and—while often stressing how reliable Jordan’s memory was—instead utilize the *Chronica* much as they do other medieval chronicles.

Despite several scholars’ claims regarding the vividness of Jordan’s memories, scholarship on memory indicates that we should exercise caution. For example, James L. McGaugh argues that memories can be just as inaccurate as they are accurate regardless of their intensity and that anyone who claims that a memory is accurate should provide proof of that memory’s accuracy.⁵⁵ Similarly, Daniel Schacter asserts that memory’s fallibility, as manifested in forgetting and in distortion, is the price that we pay for the brain’s overall effectiveness at managing memories.⁵⁶ As we can see, historians disagree regarding how to categorize the *Chronica* and how Jordan’s use of memory affects categorization; however, regardless of that categorization, all of these historians tend to take the accuracy of Jordan’s memories as a given and utilize the text as a traditional chronicle without considering how the context of the *Chronica*’s construction and the manner of Jordan’s memory recall must affect our analysis of the text. This acceptance of the *Chronica* as a traditional chronicle also bears on how we interpret other forms of information, such as Franciscan values and identity formation, that are located in Jordan’s text.

Before a reader begins to read a text, his or her conceptions regarding how to analyze that

⁵² Merlo, *In the Name of Saint Francis*, 45–6, 55–7, 91–2, 96, 101, 103, 105, 110, 175.

⁵³ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 30, 35.

⁵⁴ Robson, *The Franciscans*, 11, 22, 24–30, 39, 41–3, 46, 51, 55, 60, 66, 73, 125.

⁵⁵ James L. McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion: The Making of Lasting Memories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 86–91.

⁵⁶ Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory*, 184.

text can be influenced by the genre into which the text has been classified, in other words the horizons of expectations; however, an improper or an anachronistic generic categorization can lead to misinterpretation. Despite the importance of categorization for suggesting how to think about a text, we cannot always trust classifications. For example, people have paid attention to genre since classical Antiquity, since categorization gives the audience an idea of what to expect in terms of content and structure.⁵⁷ Although historians are occasionally tempted to apply modern genre classifications to medieval works, this act superimposes modern ideas about genre on medieval texts, which can cause problems in understanding how medieval writers thought about genres and categorization. At the same time, utilizing modern categories with caution helps historians discern key elements of the text in question, as it potentially helps us to think about the work in new ways.⁵⁸ In applying this cautionary suggestion to Jordan's *Chronica*, we can consider more fully the appropriateness of chronicle, annal, memoir, or oral history as categories and more properly investigate the place that memory played in the creation of the text's narrative and its effect on the content and structure of the *Chronica*.

⁵⁷ Melissa Furrow, *Expectations of Romance: The Reception of a Genre in Medieval England* (Rochester, New York: Boydell & Brewer, 2009), 95–141; Douglas Gray, *Simple Forms: Essays on Medieval English Popular Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1–18, 50–70; William Calin, “Textes médiévaux et tradition: la chanson de geste est-elle une épopée?” in *Romance Epic: Essays on a Medieval Literary Genre*, ed. Hans-Erich Keller (Kalamazoo, Mich.: Board of the Medieval Institute, 1987), 11–19; Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*, Studies in German Language and Literature 15 (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 1–14; Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature*, Studies in Medieval History and Culture, ed. Francis G. Gentry (New York: Routledge, 2001), 1–6; K. S. Whetter, *Understanding Genre and Medieval Romance* (Burlington, Vermont: Ashgate, 2008), 1–8.

⁵⁸ Bert Roest, “Medieval Historiography: About Generic and Scholarly Construction,” in *Aspects of Genre and Type in Pre-Modern Literary Cultures*, ed. Bert Roest and Herman Vanstiphout, COMERS/ICOG Communications, vol. 1 (Groningen: STYX Publications, 1999), 47, 50–1.

Is the *Chronica* a Chronicle or an Annal?

As noted above, some scholars describe the *Chronica* as a chronicle or annal and employ its contents as if the chapters were written in chronological order over a forty year period, while other scholars duly emphasize that the text was written from memory in one go in 1262; and this scholarly divide indicates that they disagree as to whether the text should be categorized as a chronicle or annal or as a memoir. For this reason, it is worthwhile to consider whether or not the *Chronica* fits within scholarly descriptions of the chronicle or annal genres, especially in terms of structure, subject matter, and compositional methodology.

When we consider how medieval authors and modern scholars think about chronicles, it is useful to consider first how scholars think about chronicles and annals with regards to the manner in which they are structured. Much overlap exists between annals and chronicles, since they are similar in structure; the consensus is that annals are characterized by shorter chapters and fewer details while longer chapters and more details are found in chronicles. Moreover, the chapters usually present information about events that occurred within certain years and are normally arranged in chronological order.⁵⁹ Chronicles seem to have been an offshoot of annals just as annals were an outgrowth of calendars, with each genre becoming more detailed—and more literary—than its predecessor.⁶⁰ We can see this chronological structure at work in the *Chronica*, since Jordan divides the chapters of his historical narrative into an annually ordered sequence of events within a 55-year period. However, instead of recounting events for each of these 55 years, Jordan only provides information for 26 of

⁵⁹ Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental*, volume 74 (Turnhout-Belgium: Brepolis, 1995), 14–16, 27; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 3rd Edition, (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 102–3.

⁶⁰ John Burrow, *A History of Histories: Epics, Chronicles, Romances and Inquiries from Herodotus and Thucydides to the Twentieth Century* (London: Allen Lane, 2007), 218–19.

them: 1207, 1209, 1219, 1221–1232, 1237–1240, 1242–1244, 1247–1248, 1257, and 1262.

Furthermore, Jordan's use of short and long chapters, depending on how much information he wished to relay for a given year, blurs the distinction indicated between the structures for chronicles and annals.

Since a genre is classified by its content as well as its structure, we might consider the text's subject matter for the purpose of distinguishing the chronicle from other genres. Elizabeth van Houts broadly defines a chronicle as a chronologically ordered historical narrative that furnishes information about two or more generations. She also divides chronicles into two categories: local and regional chronicles. Within this division, local chronicles were written in a single location, whether "a church, court or town," and were generally concerned with that location's history. Regional chronicles, on the other hand, require a broader area of attention, usually a "politically coherent domain" such as a county or duchy. Despite these local and regional priorities, both local and regional chronicles often stray from these focal points to discuss other regions and issues. Additionally, these two categories often have some appreciable overlap, much as it exists between chronicles and annals. Regardless of origin, all of these types of texts focused on issues related to the property owned or controlled, whether directly or indirectly, by the individual, family, or entity (such as a monastery or a town) at the center of the chronicle.⁶¹ Van Houts, then, defines chronicles as chronological narratives with geographical boundaries delineated by a

⁶¹ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 14–16, 27; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 102–3. Sometimes this overlap between annals and chronicles came about when an author expanded a work that started as a local history so that it comprised a historical narrative on a more regional or world level. Other times authors created this overlap by affixing their local chronology to a world chronicle written by someone else. Two more caveats that van Houts provides are that some genealogies, *gestae*, hagiographies, *historiae*, and other genres serve as local or regional chronicles thereby blurring the line between these genres, and that a few writers obscured the distinction between chronicles and cartulary collections when they composed connecting prose for cartularies in a chronicle format.

monastery's, a town's, or a noble family's area of ownership or control.

Although we could characterize the *Chronica* as a regional chronicle, because it provides information about the Friars Minor in the region of Germany, it does not focus on a noble family, a town, or a monastery, as Jordan concentrates on the mendicant Franciscan order. Van Houts' strict definition for chronicles emerges from an analysis of land-centric power structures, a characteristic that is unable to take into account the mendicant orders and their creation of a different form of power structure. We may understandably overlook this minor point, since Jordan relates the order's political power and influence within Germany; however, unlike the chronicles that van Houts' describes, Jordan does not look to safeguard specific property held by the order. We might easily explain this disparity with reference to Francis' injunction against possession of land, but such an explanation fails to take into account that Jordan only incidentally touches on property in the *Chronica*, generally making land ownership a minor issue. Even if we consider Germany as a whole, Jordan's attention relates to early expansion within the region before turning to changes of leadership within the order, with very little discussion regarding the order's influence on and interactions with the secular world. This suggests that Jordan did not consider control or influence within Germany as an important issue. Indeed, the Franciscan control of, or a relationship with, land is an extraneous issue, since the Friars Minor attempted to influence the spirituality of men and women throughout society without becoming major owners of land.

To complicate matters further, some texts that scholars categorize as chronicles do not foreground a geographical boundary but instead focus on chronological narratives pertaining to historical people and events. In 1999, David Dumville synthesized the general opinion of the speakers at a conference regarding medieval chronicles. In this consensus, the scholars

considered the range of subject matter to be found within the “chronicle” genre, and they concluded that the category is so loose that it “allows almost any narrative text dealing with supposedly historical persons and events to be called a chronicle.” In other words, the topics within the category of chronicle range so widely that coming to a specific description of the available subject matter becomes too complicated. However, Dumville identifies attention to chronology as the crucial essence of a chronicle. Furthermore, he notes that modern scholars consider chroniclers to be writers who “gave more details, treated both past and present, and often named themselves.”⁶² Dumville’s definition permits a wider variety of works to be classified within the genre, but it also allows us to place the *Chronica*—with its named author and its detailed treatment of past and present—in the chronicle genre. After all, we know that Jordan wrote the *Chronica*, that it touches on historical events and people, that it sets information within a clear timeline, and that it constructs a fairly coherent narrative, a narrative that eschews any details that lay outside of its central concerns.

Although structure and subject matter are important in defining the chronicle genre, so was a chronicler’s methodology, such as the use of sources and the relationship between the date in which the text was written and the dates in which the events described actually occurred. As van Houts reminds us, when chroniclers researched information for their works, they consulted three kinds of sources: “archeological, written, and oral.” Archeological sources included graves, tombstones, and inscriptions on ruins. Books in archives as well as previously written annals and chronicles all supplied information about benefactors and transactions. Although chroniclers sometimes relied on themselves as eyewitnesses, they

⁶² David Dumville, “What is a Chronicle?,” in *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle Driebergen/Utrecht 16–21 July 1999*, Costerus New Series 144, ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam: Rodopi B. V., 2002), 1, 4–5.

generally also utilized visitors and the people around them for oral stories of people and events.⁶³ By availing themselves of a variety of sources for the information placed within their works, chroniclers were able to provide more details and to be assured of the quality of that information. We should also consider the date of composition in relation to the events described. One can safely say that many chroniclers and annalists wrote about events at a point in time long after when those events occurred. For example, when Salimbene took on the task of correcting and updating Archbishop Sicard of Cremona's chronicle between 1282 and 1287,⁶⁴ he also added many chapters that included autobiographical information and his observations of and thoughts about events in European Christendom during his lifetime.⁶⁵ However, for events that occurred after 1282, Salimbene wrote about them contemporaneously.⁶⁶ In this same manner, many, if not most, chroniclers maintained their chronicles concurrently with events. This is to say that, as a chronicler lived through the year 1224, he or she would record events as he or she learned about them and then do the same in each succeeding year until the chronicler retired or died. For instance, even though Matthew Paris composed a history from the creation of the world to his present, he diligently recorded happenings throughout Christendom from 1200 to 1259, usually within a few months of the date(s) on which the events occurred.⁶⁷

⁶³ van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 32–3.

⁶⁴ Adnan A. Husain, "Writing Identity as Remembered History: Person, Place, and Time in Friar Salimbene's Autobiographical Prose Map," *Viator* 36 (2005): 265.

⁶⁵ Husain, "Writing Identity as Remembered History," 266; David Foote, "Mendicants and the Italian Communes in Salimbene's *Cronaca*" in *The Origin, Development, and Refinement of Medieval Religious Mendicancies*, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition, ed. Donald Prudlo, no. 24 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 204–7.

⁶⁶ Husain, "Writing Identity as Remembered History," 266.

⁶⁷ Richard Vaughan, ed., *The Illustrated Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Observations of Thirteenth-Century Life* (Dover, NH: A. Sutton; Cambridge: Corpus Christi College, 1993), vii–viii, x–xi.

By contrast, Jordan's methodology for the *Chronica* was to utilize only his memory as a source and to compose the text entirely after the provincial chapter in Halberstadt in 1262, instead of writing each chapter during the year in which the events took place. Jordan did not begin to compose the *Chronica* until he was pressured to do so by the friars attending the provincial chapter at Halberstadt in 1262, and the events at this chapter comprise the first and the last pieces of information that Jordan furnishes.⁶⁸ These details reveal that, with the exception of the Halberstadt chapter, Jordan looked backward at events and not contemporaneously. These circumstances also strongly suggest that Jordan depended on his memory for his composition instead of on a reliance on other sources. Clearly, this included the memory of getting information from others in past interactions⁶⁹: for example, Jordan obtained oral information about two of the 1219 missions directly from participants, namely John of Penna for Germany, whom he met in Germany in 1231,⁷⁰ and an unnamed friar for Hungary, whom he met in Assisi in 1221.⁷¹

Some scholars propose that Jordan did not compose the entire *Chronica* himself and that Baldwin of Brandenburg produced some of the chapters for Jordan. This suggestion stems

⁶⁸ Jordan, 33–4, 63. Chapter 78: “Anno ergo domini Millesimo CC°. LXII°. post capitulum halberstadense, in dominica Jubilate celebratum, in loco capituli remanentes me narrante et fratre Baldevino scribente utcumque desiderio satisfacere, et siquidem bene hoc, et ipse velim. Sin autem condescendendum est, quia, ut scitis, ut minus sapiens hoc aggredere, vos me coegistis.”

⁶⁹ Jordan, 34, 42. Chapter 1: “Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declaratur, hic supersedemus.” Chapter 19: “Thoma de Zelano qui legendam sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit.”

⁷⁰ Jordan, 35, 58. Chapter 5, on the 1219 mission to Germany: “In Theutonium vero missi sunt frater Johannes de Penna cum fratribus fere LX. vel pluribus.”

⁷¹ Jordan, 35, 42. Chapter 6, which introduces the unnamed friar on the mission to Hungary: “Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat.” Chapter 18, which exhibits the friendship between Jordan and the unnamed friar: “Et ita inter utrumque perplexus et consilium in semetipso non inveniens accessit ad fratrem multis tribulationibus probatum qui VI vicibus in Ungaria braccas perdiderat, ut dictum est, et ab eo consilium requisivit.” Chapter 60, which indicates that Jordan had met John of Penna: “Anno domini 1231. frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conduceret in Saxoniam.”

from the assumption that Baldwin filled the spaces between Jordan's memory-based chapters with information about the order that Baldwin acquired later from written sources;⁷² however, these scholars do not offer confirmation for their assertions. Indeed, we have no evidence that the *Chronica* contains any information that was derived from written sources or was not Jordan's work. The best evidence that scholars cite for Jordan's authorship of the entire *Chronica* resides in the style and syntax of the text. After all, Jordan's style is rustic,⁷³ and—despite the influence of spoken German from Jordan's German amanuensis—all of the vulgarisms are completely Italian, which suggests an Italian author.⁷⁴ Moreover, as we will discuss further in Chapter 3, the *Chronica*'s overall narrative is sufficiently concentrated on events involving Jordan and his personal knowledge of them to indicate that he is the author of the whole work. In this way, we can see that Jordan pulls together information from his memory of people and past events and that he had had as much as forty years to reflect on events to understand them more fully and to see them within a broader context.

Since scholars seem to disagree on most facets of what constitutes a chronicle, it might help to consider those aspects on which they tend to agree: despite their reliance on “factual” information, such as dates, places, and names, we must still recognize that chronicles are constructed narratives. Instead of attempting to define the genre, as van Houts and Dumville do, Gabrielle M. Spiegel investigates the narrative and date elements of chronicles and points out that early to mid-twentieth century attempts to divide “truth” from “fiction” in medieval historiographical texts, such as chronicles, prove problematic. In large part, this difficulty

⁷² Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 20, 28; Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 63–4, 91. Hardick suggests that Baldwin of Brandenburg added elements to Jordan's narrative, while Bartoli and Marini go further and propose that Baldwin of Brandenburg wrote the shorter, annal-like chapters.

⁷³ Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, lxii, lxiv.

⁷⁴ Pompilj, “Di fra Giordano e della sua Cronaca,” 38.

arises from the fact that historiographical writing does not attempt to *represent* fact but is instead the art of using factual information to represent *actuality* through the implementation of a *realistic style*. Moreover, Spiegel argues that medieval writers used the past and its perceived factuality to legitimize the ideological argument of the text.⁷⁵ This is not to say that chronicles are fiction masquerading as fact, but that chroniclers utilized real events and a realistic style to fashion a “historical” narrative that conveys a particular bias. We cannot rely on chroniclers as impartial recorders of fact, and, as a result, we need to consider more fully the narratives they produce. As a result, it is Jordan’s concentration on constructing a sustained narrative that leads us to Spiegel’s suggestions that we focus on the stories that Jordan tells rather than on the possibility that the tales contain “facts.” Moreover, the ideological concentration of these texts indicates that we should look at the values and attempts at identity formation embedded within the *Chronica*.

Consequently, as an alternative to treating the *Chronica* as a historically accurate, year-by-year account of events pertaining to the Franciscans’ entry into Germany, it is more helpful for us to think about Jordan’s text as a historical narrative that furnishes an ideological account of these events. After all, even though the *Chronica*’s structure aligns with scholarly descriptions for chronicles and annals, Jordan’s subject matter and methodology deflect away from stricter categorizations relating to the genres. Indeed, Jordan did not compose the *Chronica* to protect Franciscan property from the encroachments of powerful magnates or to document important events as they took place. During composition, he did not consult other sources or record events gradually and as they occurred over the

⁷⁵ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles,” in *The Medieval Chronicle: Proceedings of the 1st International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle*, International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle (1st: 1996: Utrecht, Netherlands), ed. Erik Kooper (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1999), 1–2.

years. What we are left with, then, is a narrative constructed from memory so as to record events that were important to a small group of Friars Minor and that exhibit indications of how they wished to portray themselves to the world.

Is the *Chronica* a Memoir or an Autobiography?

As we have seen, memory plays an important part in the *Chronica*'s method of composition, and our explorations of the chronicle and annal genres point toward further investigation of memory. For these reasons, it is useful to look into the genres of memoir and autobiography. After all, some historians have cited Jordan's evident use of memory as a reason for classifying the *Chronica* as a memoir. For this reason, we should consider how the categorization of the Jordan's work as a memoir or as an autobiography might help us to think about its contents.

As with the terms "chronicle" and "annal," historians have often associated the word "memoir" with the *Chronica*. This connection is understandable given that Jordan recounts many of the longest chapters (the 1221 general chapter at Assisi,⁷⁶ the accounts of begging,⁷⁷ the expansion of the mission into Thuringia,⁷⁸ conflicts with Nicholas the Humble,⁷⁹ Jordan's translation of relics of Francis to Eisenach,⁸⁰ and Jordan's participation in Elias' removal from office⁸¹) with himself as the primary agent and from his own point of view. Even

⁷⁶ Jordan, 39–43. Chapters 16–19.

⁷⁷ Jordan, 43–4, 46. Chapters 21, 27.

⁷⁸ Jordan, 49–51. Chapters 38–46.

⁷⁹ Jordan, 52–4 (Chapters 47, 49); Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

⁸⁰ Jordan, 57–8 (Chapter 59); Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

⁸¹ Jordan, 59–60. Chapters 61–65.

though scholars generally investigate modern conceptions of memory or biography, the results of their explorations can be applied in a homologous or analogous manner to medieval texts. Indeed, these examinations provide underlying thematic or structural correspondences that make this research applicable to thirteenth-century texts. That is to say, the research on these categories has a potential bearing on the *Chronica* because Jordan's text relies so much on his memory for its composition.

Despite their mutual reliance on memory, the genres of autobiography and memoir are largely distinguished by their intended audiences and by their subject matter. Although both genres tell the purportedly "factual" story of a person's life, we should differentiate between them by suggesting that people who write autobiography usually intend their works solely for themselves or for a select audience, whereas those who write memoirs do so specifically for public consumption.⁸² The important element for autobiographies and memoirs, then, is that they concentrate on an individual, with the primary distinction being whether the text is written for the author and a limited—intimate—audience or for a larger, popular audience. If we take these genre descriptions to heart, we must then consider that the *Chronica* might be more properly categorized as a memoir, since Jordan composed the text for a broader audience than just himself and a few select people. Indeed, he says that he has been edifying his confreres with his stories for some time, which suggests that the composition of the *Chronica* was meant for the instruction of other friars as well.⁸³

It might also be useful to consider that the author of a biography or a memoir uses his or

⁸² Ben Yagoda, *Memoir: A History* (New York: Riverhead Books, 2009), 1–3; Roy Pascal, *Design and Truth in Autobiography* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), 3–20. Yagoda writes that the definition for these closely-related genres has changed in the twenty-first century, with the memoir centering on the individual through his or her memories and the autobiography serving as a more factual and researched endeavor.

⁸³ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Fratribus ordinis minorum per Theutonium constitutis frater Jordanus de Jano vallis spoletane in presenti in bonis perseveranciam et in futuro cum Christo gloriam sempiternam."

her work as a method of investigating broader society through the life of an individual. For example, we can differentiate biography as the written account of an individual's life by a second person and autobiography as a narrative written by an individual whose life is being related and which responds to someone else's questions. Moreover, regardless of how much a biographer attempts to be objective, his or her feelings and thoughts necessarily intrude on the narrative that he or she constructs. This narrative, however, can use a person's life as a prism with which to view the broader society and culture, because the individual not only lives within social and cultural tensions but reacts to them. Indeed, individuals not only reflect social tension, but they also have an impact upon society through their decisions in reaction to events and in how they deal with challenges.⁸⁴ As a result, biographies and memoirs are often narratives that use an individual's life to investigate a given society and its culture, and they can do this because of the individual's reactions to events that take place around him or her. Furthermore, the author adds her or his own perception of what information is important and how the subject's details relate to each other, since he or she sifts through his or her research to place that individual's life and the broader social and cultural context within a coherent narrative. If Jordan responded to any questions, the questions were posed during the chapter and he answered them during the *Chronica*'s composition; however, we can also consider that his text reflects his reactions to social tensions that the friars presented, he personally felt, or both.

Indeed, Jordan's work can be described as a memoir as it focuses on his memories of the Franciscan entry into Germany; however, the integration of his memories with more traditional chronicle- or annal-style material effectively removes the *Chronica* from this

⁸⁴ Valerie Raleigh Yow, "Biography and Oral History," in *Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Thomas L. Charlton, Lois E. Myers, and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira Press, 2006), 425–32, 435–6.

categorization. The *Chronica* was created for a broader audience than a few individuals, as copies of it spread to other parts of Germany and to Poland, while an abridged version made its way to Rome. Although the text draws on Jordan's memories of his participation in the Franciscan evangelization of Germany, the work offers a broader narrative of the 1221 mission and its success instead of only Jordan's personal journey. We must therefore conclude that Jordan's *Chronica* lies outside the genres of autobiography and memoir, since the overall narrative transcends any one person, despite the occasional focus on Jordan or other individuals, in favor of those people involved with aspects of the German mission.

Is the *Chronica* an Oral History?

Even though scholars have not associated the *Chronica* with oral history, the connection seems relevant because of the circumstances surrounding the construction of Jordan's text and the manner in which oral history investigates memory, which scholars consistently indicate as forming a significant component of the *Chronica*. For this reason, it might be helpful to explore the manner in which modern conceptions of oral history apply to our understanding of Jordan's *Chronica*.

The definition of oral history has widened in the last century from the oral transmission of historical material to the act of interviewing individuals. During much of the last two and a half centuries, people have used the term "oral history" to refer to the oral transmission of stories and histories from one generation to another, whether through professionally constructed narrative or through the informal sharing of stories. The description of this genre now includes the production of oral interviews to gain individuals' perceptions of events and their participation in them. Indeed, oral history is set apart from other branches of history by

scholars' dependence on narratives formed from memory instead of on written texts.⁸⁵ In this fashion, we might consider that oral history has existed as long as individuals reported what they themselves saw or experienced, such as when Thucydides recounted the history of the Peloponnesian War or when Augustine of Hippo related his conversion experience.

During the last seventy years, oral historians have employed interviews to study any subject wherein an individual's or a group's experiences or perspectives provide a deeper understanding of that subject. Since 1942, the process of interviewing people has become an essential aspect of oral history; in that year, a gentleman named Joe Gould mentioned that he was interviewing people in and around Greenwich Village for "An Oral History of Our Time." Although Gould's project eventually came to nothing, the association of interviews with oral history became sufficiently close that Allan Nevins, a history professor at Columbia University, established an Oral History Research Office in 1948 for the purpose of conducting interviews and preserving them in archives. In the process, oral historians often preserve voices that would otherwise have been overlooked or lost but which provide information that gives greater depth to our comprehension of a given subject. However, by harnessing interviews, oral historians have had to grapple with such issues as subjectivity, narrative, and memory.⁸⁶ Within oral history, narratives are obtained through interviews or conversations in order to capture an individual's memories of his or her history. For this reason, oral history narratives are often personal in nature. Unfortunately, we do not have any evidence for an interview process between Jordan and either his audience or his amanuensis,

⁸⁵ James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, UK; Cambridge, USA: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), 2.

⁸⁶ Donald A. Ritchie, "Introduction: the Evolution of Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 3–13; Alistair Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," in *The Oxford Handbook of Oral History*, ed. Donald A. Ritchie (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 78–80.

Baldwin. The closest that we get to such a process in the *Chronica* concerns the friars' requests that he compose the text and that he add additional stories and put everything in a chronological sequence.⁸⁷

The method of conducting one-on-one interviews with an individual regarding his or her participation in historical events or knowledge of historical persons has forced historians to investigate the reliability of and value in narratives. In order to share their memories in a way that makes sense to themselves and to others, individuals create narratives. According to Valerie Raleigh Yow, everyone creates narratives utilizing readily available cultural scripts to guide their narrative construction, and oral historians place the resulting narrative within a wider social and historical context. One of the advantages of oral history interviews is that the historian can explore the interviewee's motivations within his or her narratives during the narrative construction. For Yow, the oral historian's purpose is to show the person about whom he or she is writing the relationships between that individual, his or her work, and the broader society.⁸⁸

Because of the creation of narrative from memory, the definition of the genre of oral history seems to apply to Jordan's *Chronica*. His stories, when shared orally, appear to conform to traditional oral history, especially if others had passed those tales in the same fashion. After all, Jordan relates that he had shared his stories with other friars, who then asked him to write them down and who suggested alterations in how he did so, activities that

⁸⁷ Jordan, 33–4. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem.”

⁸⁸ Yow, “Biography and Oral History,” 432–50, 459.

conform in part to oral history conventions.⁸⁹ However, since the memories seem to begin and end with Jordan, are not found in any other sources, and we only receive them from his written record of them, we cannot label his text an exercise in oral history in the traditional sense. The *Chronica* fails to fit the modern definition of oral history primarily because we cannot say that Baldwin interviewed Jordan during the dictation. To be sure, Baldwin might have interjected an occasional question or comment during the *Chronica*'s composition, but the final product does not show any indication that he did. The best that we can say is that the friars at Halberstadt in 1262 provided feedback to Jordan's stories and that Jordan probably altered his narrative to accommodate their suggestions. Otherwise, we find in the *Chronica* a narrative produced from memory, a product that the discipline of oral history has sought to understand through the use of cross-disciplinary research, particularly by sociologists and psychologists.⁹⁰

To summarize how Jordan fits within characterizations of these genres, while we might loosely describe the *Chronica* as a chronicle or annal, a memoir or autobiography, or as an exercise as a form of an oral history, the context of its creation, elements of its structure, aspects of Jordan's methodology, and his use of memory and his interactions with his audience, make it difficult to wholly ascribe the *Chronica* to any of these genres. However, as scholars have shown, all of these genres share a concern for memory and narrative, which

⁸⁹ Jordan, 33–4. Prologue: "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem."

⁹⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *La Mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1950), 130–1; Bartlett, *Remembering*, 13, 199–214; Maurice Bloch, "Autobiographical Memory and the Historical Memory of the More Distant Past," in *How We Think They Think: Anthropological Approaches to Cognition, Memory, and Literacy*, ed. Maurice E. F. Bloch (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1998), 117–19; Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory*, 184; Loftus, Feldman, and Dashiell, "The Reality of Illusory Memories," 47–67; M. Conway, "The Inventory of Experience: Memory and Identity," in *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, ed. James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, and Bernard Rimé (Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1997), 22–8.

are also the central elements of the *Chronica*. These are also the facets that we will explore more fully as a means to investigating Jordan's text. In order to examine Jordan's narrative, therefore, we will explore in Chapter 2 how individual and social memory work by drawing upon memory research by neuroscientists and psychologists and by asking what bearing this research might have on the creation of Jordan's narrative.

Conclusion

Scholarship suggests that we should consider looking at Jordan's *Chronica* not as a factual history of the Friars Minor in Germany but rather as a value-laden narrative that the friars used to convey Franciscan identity. Even if we continue to identify the *Chronica* as a medieval chronicle, we must remember that chroniclers looked to events in the past as a means to discuss events in the present. To strengthen their claims, chroniclers placed the events that occurred within a spiritual history of the world (often beginning with either the creation of the world or with Christ's death and resurrection) so as to link fact with the workings of divine providence. As Spiegel suggests, chroniclers were usually motivated to write their chronicles as a means to address issues in the present, even if they discuss the subject in the past.⁹¹ In monastic settings, according to van Houts, chroniclers often took up their quills because they "felt the need of written evidence to support their collective memory" of the founding of a monastery and its claims to benefices or pieces of land. If he or she had the time and wanted to incorporate a grander scale of history, the chronicler went further back in time, preferably to incorporate Christ or to begin with the creation of the world to ground their claims as part of God's plan. Otherwise, the chronicler usually

⁹¹ Spiegel, "Theory into Practice: Reading Medieval Chronicles," 2.

restricted the work to the foundation of the monastery or church, preferably using a miracle to indicate that this foundation functioned according to God's plan. In chronicles with these shorter time spans, the works invariably build up a chronological framework using the reigns of the monasteries' abbots.⁹²

We can see with the *Chronica* that Jordan does follow these precedents to greater or lesser degrees, though his deviations from these models stem from the time of composition and the unique character of the mendicant order. Jordan cannot commence with a church or monastery because the order was created without reference to a specific edifice or piece of real estate. Even though one could argue that Francis later used the Portiuncula as a form of headquarters, Augustine Thompson and John Moorman make clear that the order rented it from the Benedictine monks of Subasio for a basket of fish each year and made no claim to Franciscan ownership of it.⁹³ As it is, Jordan spends no time defending the Portiuncula or its importance to the order. Instead, Jordan points out that Francis turned away from the monastic path and instead chose the *vita apostolica* with the purpose of performing evangelical work in the world. More importantly, Jordan employs the *Chronica* to relate the success of that evangelical mission in Germany, with mentions of the troubles that the friars encountered, how they succeeded, the values that they embodied, and the manner in which the leadership changed over forty-one years.

Despite its title and structure as a chronicle, the *Chronica* contains elements of the memoir, autobiography, and oral history genres, which cause us to question how one might categorize Jordan's text; as a result, we should take a more considered approach, one that

⁹² Van Houts, *Local and Regional Chronicles*, 28–9.

⁹³ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 31; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan order*, 21.

considers these various possibilities, to any analysis of the text. If the *Chronica* were a more “traditional” chronicle in which events were typically recorded as they occurred, we could trust that the narrative related values that represented the indicated time periods. Moreover, while the *Chronica* might fit well within medieval concepts of the chronicle, we should consider the ways in which Jordan’s work does not resemble other chronicles, as well as its areas of overlap with other genres. Instead of writing the *Chronica* himself, Jordan first narrated certain stories to an audience, which permitted others to provide feedback before he dictated the entire work to a transcriptionist as commanded by their superior. In this way, the context of being told to remember probably subconsciously shaped the manner in which Jordan recalled his memories just as much as the way he would consciously arrange the description of his memories for his audience.

The *Chronica*’s strict narrative, time of composition, complete reliance on memory, and opportunity for direct feedback from an audience seem to run counter to the normal mechanisms informing a chronicle. At the same time, the lack of emphasis on an individual throughout undercuts the idea of a memoir or autobiography. What we are left with is a grand narrative of a group’s evangelical mission in Germany told from the memory of an eyewitness and within a chronicle structure, but with the author playing pivotal roles at key points within that narrative, that is to say a memory-based chronological narrative. This description, after a fashion, fits somewhat within oral history wherein the interviewer provides the narrator with the opportunity to talk about a particular subject that occurred in the past and in which the narrator played a part, except that we have no indication that Baldwin asked any questions of Jordan. As the result of these two important factors—the time and duration of composition coupled with Jordan’s use only of his memory—we need to

treat the *Chronica* with care.

These elements are important to stress since historians still regard the *Chronica* as a source for details about, and the values of the order during, Francis' lifetime. Even though the work provides information about the early years of the order, that information has been affected by the passage of time and the changes of attitude that occur with individuals as they age, meaning that the *Chronica* is more likely to express how Jordan and his confreres felt about the order, its identity, and its values in 1262 than with reference to 1221. The overall result is that Jordan tells us more about the attitudes and values of the Franciscan order in the German provinces in 1262 than he does about the early Italian phase of the order in 1221 or the mission that entered the German territories under Caesar of Speyer's leadership.

CHAPTER 2: THEORY AND METHODOLOGY: MEMORY, NARRATIVE, AND IDENTITY

In Chapter 1, the dissertation explored Jordan's career path as a political administrator and Jordan as a man who does not seem to have prepared for a second vocation as a chronicler. It also investigated the implications of Jordan's chronological structure of the *Chronica* and of his reliance on his own memory as the sole source for his composition. As it is, Jordan begins the *Chronica* by stating that the friars had often found his stories, particularly those about the conversation and the lives of the first Franciscans to evangelize Germany, to be instructive. Because of the value that they acquired from his stories, they insisted that he write them down for the benefit of other friars in Germany.¹ The result of these investigations was that it is difficult to categorize the text solely as a chronicle or annal, as a memoir or autobiography, or as an oral history.

Because of the intimate connections between memory and narrative that are implicit in Jordan's text, it is helpful to explore these linkages more fully as a methodology for investigating the *Chronica*. So as to get at this association, we need to consider the manner in which the brain stores and recalls individual memory. Furthermore, since Jordan shared his memories with other friars, we should inquire as to how groups and organizations recall social memory, and how the sharing of memories affects narrative construction. Since our

¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem."

explorations of the genres of chronicles, memoirs, and oral history suggest that memory is untrustworthy, it will be advantageous to investigate in what manner memory and narrative might contain some reliability. Moreover, inasmuch as our explorations of genre categorization for the *Chronica* suggested that individuals identify with the values embedded in narratives, we should also inquire further into how people use narrative to create and to reinforce group identity.

How the Brain Stores and Recalls Individual Memory

In the *Chronica*'s Prologue, Jordan explicitly uses language that connotes his use of memory. Indeed, he says that he related (“cum me referente”) stories about the first Franciscans to enter Germany,² that the friars asked him to write down anything that he “was able to recall from memory” (“ad memoriam revocare possem”),³ and that he was worried that he might err through forgetfulness (“oblivionem”).⁴ Because of Jordan’s explicit use of memory for composing the *Chronica*, we need to consider the way in which the brain stores and recalls memories, since this process affects the way in which humans create and structure narratives. This exploration involves memory formation, retention, alteration, loss, recall, interpretation, and reinterpretation.

Because of their focus on the construction of narrative from memory, oral historians closely investigate the relationship between individual memory and narrative to understand

² Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur”

³ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “. . . a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem.”

⁴ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Super annorum vera numero, sicubi per oblivionem utpote iam senex et debilis ut homo erravi”

better how memory works. For instance, the brain records three types of memories using biochemical processes: long-term memories, short-term memories, and sensory memories. While long-term and short-term memories utilize sensory memories, short-term memory storage retains information only so long as it is needed and then “forgets” that information. Meanwhile, information is only placed into long-term memory storage if the individual believes that it is important, but, even then, because retention depends on the brain’s biochemistry, emotion levels associated with and rehearsal of that memory improve its maintenance in the brain.⁵ Additionally, it has been argued that cultural elements, such as language, social environment, relationships, and so on, influence the creation of memory in an individual, but not completely. Some experiences are sufficiently unique that they lie outside these culturally available methods for defining and understanding them, and these experiences require the individual to engender new ways to comprehend them.⁶ Because of the difficulty of embedding them into long-term memory, not every individual experience becomes a memory. This difficulty indicates that the brain considers stored experiences to be important, and, in this way, narratives should feature those memories that individuals consider significant. If we apply these conceptions to Jordan’s text, they suggest that the memories that he shared in the *Chronica* were some that he considered to be most noteworthy. Not only were these experiences deemed important enough to place into long-term memory, but he chose these memories over other potentially available memories to share as part of his narrative.

⁵ Mark Wheeler, “Episodic Memory and Autonoetic Awareness,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Memory*, ed. Tulving and Craik (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 597–609; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 68–70.

⁶ Thomson, “Memory and Remembering,” 82–7; James W. Pennebaker and Becky L. Banasik, “On the Creation and Maintenance of Collective Memories: History as Social Psychology,” in *Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives*, ed. James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez, Bernard Rimé (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997), 7–9.

We also need to consider that the brain stores memories in a manner that permits multiple memories to share elements, which can cause memories to become distorted when recalled, with further distortion arising through tailored recall for different audiences. In our current understanding of how the human brain stores and recalls memories, the act of forgetting is an integral part of the process of storing information.⁷ Indeed, this understanding considers that the brain has developed *schemata*—patterns or arrangements of organization—through which it encodes some parts of the event but purposefully leaves the rest to be forgotten. However, some scholars believe that the brain even stores traces of what it chose not to keep thereby making it possible to retrieve or to recreate a fuller aspect of the memory.⁸ Moreover, the brain does not store a memory as a discreet collection of schemata in one place but stores pieces of the schemata in scattered places throughout the brain. Indeed, the brain often uses the same piece as part of multiple related memories and strengthens the connections between these disparate locations. It is this storage method which allows the brain to reduce the amount of information to be stored and that leads to the increased possibility of “bleeding” between memories, wherein an individual conflates two or more memories or shared schemata from similar memories into a single recalled memory.⁹ This research suggests that Jordan’s memories about the 1221 general chapter, as an example, were not isolated from his other memories. Instead, his brain would have shared various similar memories so as to minimize the amount of space utilized by the act of remembering. For example, it is possible that he had linked Francis’ reading from the Gospel with other readings of Scripture that he

⁷ Augé, *Oblivion*, 20; Sartre, *The Psychology of Imagination*, 210; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 76–7.

⁸ Warnock, *Memory*, 37–52; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 78–9.

⁹ Bartlett, *Remembering*, 13, 199–214; Roediger and McDermott, “Distortions of Memory,” 149–62; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 79–81.

had heard over the years or that his memory of sleeping in tents at the chapter could possibly have been consolidated into other memories of such nocturnal activity.¹⁰

However, a schema not only results from the brain's own construction and method of processing information but also from the context of the event to be remembered. This means that the process of memory storage results from a combination of the brain's own method for choosing what is to be stored from that which will be forgotten and the significance placed on certain aspects of the event by the individual at the time that the memory is formed.¹¹

Once in storage, memory is characterized by unpredictable fluctuations between sensations of that which is concealed and that which is clear, between schemata that linger and those that are fleeting, between the resolute and the unintentional, and between that which is remembered and that which is forgotten. In this view, memories reside in the mind as "a maintenance and carrying forwards in time of residues, traces, impressions or relics of earlier experience." At the same time, an individual might reflect on these "residues, traces, impressions, or relics" as a way to find meaning or understanding within a given context.¹²

What this indicates for our understanding of Jordan is that each time he recalled a memory—whether silently in his own mind or verbally with an audience—he would have reinterpreted any underlying meanings that he associated with this memory. These reinterpreted and associated meanings would then be affiliated with the memory and would affect the manner in which Jordan recalled and understood these memories. Furthermore, the manner in which

¹⁰ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16.

¹¹ Brown and Craik, "Encoding and Retrieval of Information," 93–108; Michielsens, "Memory Frames," 183–4; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 81–2.

¹² Schacter, *The Seven Sins of Memory*, 184; Loftus, Feldman, and Dashiell, "The Reality of Illusory Memories," 47–67; Neisser, "John Dean's Memory": 1–22; Neisser, *Memory Observed*, 139–59; Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli," 1–26; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 83–9.

he comprehended what he remembered depended on those events occurring around him at the time of recall, such as the provincial chapter at Halberstadt in 1262.¹³

Since memories are stored piecemeal and survive in a state of continual evaluation and redefinition, the “reconstructive” phase of memory retrieval works by reconfiguring and, as a result, reinterpreting memories. In this fashion, an individual subjects these mnemonic elements “to continuous reconstruction” which serves to alter the memory as it is reconstructed. Moreover, memories are additionally reinterpreted during retrieval through the context of the given moment in terms of the general culture and environment at the time of retrieval as well as of new experiences that might cause a change in interpretation.¹⁴ The “reconstructivist” view of memory describes memory retrieval as dependent on a number of factors. For the “reconstructivists,” the manner in which the brain stores a memory and in which the brain later retrieves that memory depends greatly upon the context of the event, the filtering system encoded in the brain as to what is stored and what is not stored, how the memory is interpreted on encoding, the context of the situation at the time of retrieval, and how the current situation will lead to reinterpretation of the memory. These factors indicate that a memory is not stable but rather is always adapted to current circumstances and how one remembers is always open to reinterpretation.¹⁵ As a result, memories do not record every detail of an event, never remain static, must be “reconstituted” during recall, and are subject to interpretation and reinterpretation based on the surrounding culture and the

¹³ Jordan, 33–4, 63. Prologue and chapter 78.

¹⁴ Neisser, “John Dean’s Memory,” 139–59; Portelli, “The Death of Luigi Trastulli,” 1–26; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 86–8.

¹⁵ Neisser, “What is Ordinary Memory the Memory of?,” in *Remembering Reconsidered: Ecological and Traditional Approaches to the Study of Memory*, Emory Symposia in Cognition (No. 2) (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 356–73; Conway, “The Inventory of Experience,” 22–8; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 88–90.

individual's needs. In this way, the communal sharing of unstable individual memory transforms these memories into fluid social memory. For example, it is likely that Jordan and his confreres from the 1221 mission discussed the general chapter at Assisi where they had met.¹⁶ Each time that these friars shared memories of the chapter, Jordan would have subconsciously incorporated details from their stories into his own memories. Not only were their memories of the 1221 chapter continuously conflated each time that the friars talked about it, but each of the friars would have reinterpreted these memories on each occasion that they recalled the chapter. Furthermore, the manner in which the friars reinterpreted these memories depended on the circumstances of their social situation, such as the place in which the memories were shared, the people who were participating or listening, or the relationships between everyone involved.

Scholars agree that individual memories change as the original event recedes further back in time. Michael Schudson applies the term “distanciation” to the alteration of memories with the passage of time. As time passes, the mind reshapes memories in two ways: first, memories become vague because they lose details, and, second, the emotional intensity related to memories decreases, which diminishes the importance of the memory and its details to the individual.¹⁷ Psychoanalyst Donald Spence argues that memories of the distant past are “discrete and disconnected” in a form that seems isolated from other memories while memories of the recent past and of the present are more coherent and associate more clearly with others. As a result, the individual has more material available from recent memories

¹⁶ Jordan, 39–43. Chapters 16–19.

¹⁷ Michael Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion in Collective Memory,” in *Memory Distortion: How Minds, Brains, and Societies Reconstruct the Past*, ed. Daniel L. Schacter (Cambridge, Mass.; London, England: Harvard University Press, 1995), 348–51; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 96–7.

with which to devise a narrative than from distant memories.¹⁸ The advantage that Schudson says distanciation provides includes giving the individual perspective regarding the memory and its contents in relation to other memories. Temporal distance allows individuals to achieve greater understanding of past events. Factors include diminishing emotional intensity, ability to view the memory through more points of view, and changes in the past as new information comes to light or as other voices add their perspectives.¹⁹ For this reason, the amount of time between when the event occurred, emotional intensity, social interactions, and the time when the memory is recalled affect the level of detail available for the individual to share with others.

This scholarship has several implications for our understanding of Jordan's *Chronica*. The first is that his earlier memories are likely to have been isolated from more recent memories, which allowed him to ruminate on these older memories in a more considered manner than the newer ones. Another implication is that Jordan has been able to use the 41 years since 1221 to consider and to reconsider the general chapter at Assisi so as to arrive at deeper meanings and understandings of what had happened. A third implication is that each time Jordan recalled these memories for an audience, their feedback would provide him with alternative perspectives. When taken together, these possibilities from scholarship on memory suggest that Jordan's recounting of the 1221 chapter in the *Chronica* does not bear witness to events as they happened but to a more thoughtful and interpretive comprehension of events.

¹⁸ Donald P. Spence, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth: Meaning and Interpretation in Psychoanalysis* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1982), 55–61, 86–7, 92; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 96–7.

¹⁹ Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion," 348–51; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 96–7.

Autobiographic Memory and Narrative Construction

As he shares his memories through narrative, Jordan clearly asserts that these are his memories. Indeed, that his stories—stories about the first friars to enter Germany that he recalls from memory (“me referente aliquociens” and “ad memoriam revocare possem”)—have edified an audience that does not share these memories, since these are friars brought into the order much later in time.²⁰ Moreover, many of his stories, as we discussed in Chapter 1, are of an autobiographical nature. These autobiographical stories include his attendance at the 1221 general chapter at Assisi,²¹ his addition to the 1221 mission to Germany,²² his begging for alms from a recalcitrant laity,²³ his expansion of the order into Thuringia,²⁴ his translation of relics of Francis to Eisenach,²⁵ and his participation in Elias’ removal from power.²⁶ As a result, it is useful to look more closely at the role of the individual—or, more specifically, the self—in constructing memory and narratives from that memory. The scholarship on autobiographical memory indicates that the ability to create a narrative that identifies the self depends on the individual’s ability to recognize himself or herself as an individual entity within memory formation and recall.

²⁰ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem.”

²¹ Jordan, 39–40. Chapters 16–17.

²² Jordan, 40–3. Chapters 18–20.

²³ Jordan, 45–6. Chapter 27.

²⁴ Jordan, 49–54, 56–8. Chapters 38–49, 58–60.

²⁵ Jordan, 57–8 (Chapter 59); Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

²⁶ Jordan, 58–60. Chapters 61–67.

According to neuropsychologists, the ability to create narratives about the self derives from the development of autobiographical memory in humans. The essential element of autobiographical memory is the ability to identify the self by saying ‘I’ or ‘me,’ thereby distinguishing the individual from others, providing a unique life story. This ability to identify the self enables a person to position his or her experiences mentally within a timeline running from the past to the present. This orientation allows the individual to plan or to prepare for future actions.²⁷ This research suggests that Jordan needed to be able to recognize himself as an individual person in order to be able to place himself distinctly within past events and recognize them as separate from present incidents or from future possibilities.

In order to allow individuals to remember themselves as distinct actors within memories and to compose narratives featuring the individual, autobiographical memory requires three prerequisites. First, the memories must include a reference to the individual who is creating the memory, thereby allowing him or her to use these memories in the future, such as being able to avoid fire since the individual remembers the experience of having been burned.²⁸ For example, we could argue that the *Chronica* exhibits Jordan’s autobiographical memory, since he references himself as an individual, most notably when he tells the story of a friar who did not want to join the 1221 mission to Germany because of fear of meeting heretics (who sought undermine his faith) in northern Italy or bellicose locals (who might harm or kill him) in Germany. After creating tension for his audience by suggesting potential danger for this unnamed friar, Jordan then reveals to his audience that he is the friar concerned and,

²⁷ Hans J. Markowitsch and Harald Welzer, *The Development of Autobiographical Memory*, trans. David Emmans (Hove, England; New York: Psychology Press, 2005), 3.

²⁸ Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 3–4.

therefore, that he survived any potential danger.²⁹ Second, autobiographical memories contain an emotional index allowing the individual to judge the experience positively or negatively, thereby permitting the individual to decide whether or not to repeat the experience.³⁰ For his part, we can see that Jordan displays emotion when he expresses the abovementioned fear of encountering heretics or the possibility of suffering from German brutality as a participant of the 1221 mission.³¹ Third, autobiographical memories are “autonoetic,” meaning that the individual is aware that he or she is remembering, thereby providing the person with the “conscious, *explicit* knowledge” that he or she is replaying a memory, thereby permitting the individual to separate memories of past experiences from present experience and allowing him or her to review the memory so as to determine a broader range of potential ways to respond should the experience reoccur.³² Even though we do not see Jordan considering alternative responses to his experiences, he nonetheless demonstrates awareness of himself in the past by relating how he came to compose the *Chronica* before recounting his experiences as part of the mission from 1221 to 1262.³³

Despite this focus on the individual, some researchers look beyond the solitary person for the effects of autobiographical memory in broader society. For instance, human autobiographical memory, it is argued, is simultaneously shaping and being shaped by contemporary society. Indeed, this form of memory gives individuals an “undisputed sense of order” wherein individuals define themselves through their position in society. At the same

²⁹ Jordan, 40–2. Chapter 18.

³⁰ Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 3–4.

³¹ Jordan, 40–2. Chapter 18.

³² Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 3–4.

³³ Jordan, 33–4, 40–3. Prologue and chapters 18, 19.

time, societal changes reflect transformations in individuals' senses of self.³⁴ By way of illustrating this concept, Elias argues that courtly society required that individuals establish formal behaviors that interposed a delay between one action and any individual's response to that action, thereby providing people with the opportunity to consider the consequences of potential responses. This strategy required a communication style that was deliberate and epitomized self-control. According to Elias, individuals bind themselves together within a social fabric that organizes actions so that these actions fulfill social functions, thereby regulating behavior.³⁵ People tend to be unaware that these processes function in this manner, since regulatory behavior exhibits itself as habitual practice. To illustrate this process, in the earliest phases of industrialization, laborers were habituated to inconsistent working hours regulated by social and weather patterns. Business owners, who needed employees to keep industrial equipment operating from dawn until dusk, used physical violence to force workers to arrive at work at certain times and to stay at work for the prescribed work period. Eventually, laborers became habituated to the new rhythmic patterns, with meals, work, recreation, and sleep relegated to particular time periods. In this way, psychological perceptions of a new need put pressure on social forces and created a new psychological pattern.³⁶

The *Chronica* suggests such a process for Jordan and the Friars Minor as part of their mission into Germany in 1221. Jordan's description of the 1219 missions indicate that the

³⁴ Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 6–7.

³⁵ Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. Edmund Jephcott, *The Collected Works of Norbert Elias*, vol. 2, ed. Stephen Mennell (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 86–157; Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 7–8.

³⁶ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, (New York: Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, 1964), 189–313, 331–447; Markowitsch and Welzer, *Autobiographical Memory*, 7–8.

friars who participated travelled in a large group and failed to acquire any converts, because they could not speak the local languages.³⁷ Beginning in 1221, the friars on mission travelled in small groups to new areas so as to establish the order in these regions³⁸ and preached to the laity in the local languages so as to convert as many of them as possible to orthodox Christianity and a smaller number of the laity to the Friars Minor.³⁹ In this fashion, the friars established new formal and deliberate behaviors that permitted them to bind themselves together as Franciscans in strange lands. In time, these processes became habitual for the friars as they propagated the order further and further from Assisi.

How Groups and Organizations Store and Recall Social Memory

While Jordan indicates that he used autobiographical memory, he also conveys that he shared these memories within a social setting as a member of an organization, the Friars Minor. He communicates this by highlighting that the friars had often asked him (“a multis multociens sum rogatus”) to record his memories, that his audience was edified (“edificarentur”) by his stories, and that they recommended that he add other stories and memories (“ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare”) and record the years in which events occurred (“annos domini . . . accidit”).⁴⁰ Furthermore, he asks his readers to correct and amend (“corrigat et emendet”) any errors that he might make, which further evokes the social nature of his

³⁷ Jordan, 34–5. Chapters 3–6.

³⁸ Jordan, 43–4, 48–51. Chapters 19–21, 33–4, 38, 40, 42, 44–5.

³⁹ Jordan, 42–5, 50. Chapters 19–21, 23, 25, 41.

⁴⁰ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem.”

recall.⁴¹ In this way, we can see that Jordan recalled his memories and constructed narratives from those memories within social settings. As it is, much of the theory on memory that we have considered includes both individual and social components, and it is therefore helpful for us to investigate the social aspects more thoroughly. Most work on social memory employs the research of Frederic Bartlett, Maurice Halbwachs, and Roger Bastide as its foundations. These foundations provide different interpretations not only about how social memory functions but also whether memory resides within the individual or within a social entity.

Frederic Bartlett argued that individual and social memory recall were inextricably linked but situated individuals and groups within a simple and stable environment that does not reflect the fluidity of group membership and interaction. Cubitt writes that the strength and weakness of Bartlett's concept rests simultaneously on its simplicity and stability, which he achieves by situating the individual within distinct and self-contained groups, thereby permitting the researcher to determine group members' social impulses within a coherent culture that is different from other groups.⁴² Through controlled experiments, Bartlett argues that individual remembering depends on schemata and instruction, but that individual remembering both reflects and contributes to the sense of a collective past to which members of a group can collectively relate. In other words, Jordan and his confreres developed the sense of a common past each time that they shared stories about Francis and the order. Because the group shared common values embedded within the stories, this common past occurred even when the memories were unique to a single person within the group.

⁴¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "... veniam postulo a lectore monens, ut ubicumque me errasse invenerit, caritative corrigat et emendet."

⁴² Bartlett, *Remembering*, 244, 253–5, 257, 264–6, 268–300; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 154–8.

Moreover, the manner and matter of individual recall depends on social influences, since groups determine and direct their mental lives, particularly through remembering; however, the psychological basis of group organization—and group remembering—evolves over time. For instance, the memories—and stories—that Jordan and the Friars Minor considered relevant, and therefore shared more often, depended on their social contexts. In this way, they might have talked more about Elias of Assisi and his abuses of his position of authority while he was general minister and less often with each passing year after he had been removed from office. Additionally, the friars in any given convent were more likely to discuss matters that were pertinent to their locality and region rather than affairs that concerned friars in distant lands. Time and place always provided context to the conversations undertaken by a particular group. A social group and its culture, which provides the emotional setting and the framework for remembering, dictate the matter and manner of both memorization and recall. When a group encounters new elements from outside their social milieu, group members rearticulate those elements until they are properly incorporated and, as a result, the group affects individual remembering. For example, the friars' likely talked constantly about Francis' death after October 1226⁴³ so that they could ascertain what meaning it had for them and for the order. Likewise, whenever a ruler, such as Frederick II,⁴⁴ or a prelate, like

⁴³ Jordan, 54. Chapter 50: "Defuncto ergo beato Francisco, frater Helias, vicarius beati Francisci, fratribus turbatis super obitu tanti patris per tatum ordinem litteras consolatorias destinavit, denunciando singulis et universis, quod omnibus, sicut ipsi beatus Franciscus preceperat, ex parte beati Francisci benediceret et ab omnibus absolveret culpis, insuper declarans de stigmatibus et aliis miraculis, que post mortem suam ad beatum Franciscum operari dignatus est altissimus."

⁴⁴ Jordan, 62. Chapter 73: "Illo autem tempore fratres per Fredericum ab imperio sentencialiter in concilio lugdunensi depositum valde vexati sunt et de locis suis in multis provinciis confusibiliter eiecti, multi detenti, aliqui etiam interfecti, quia mandatis ecclesie obediens tamquam filii pie matri viriliter astiterunt, quod preter fratres minores nulli alii religiosi fecerunt."

Siegried, the archbishop of Mainz,⁴⁵ caused problems for the order, the friars' would have shared memories and information to determine how these men's predations affected them and the order generally.

Even though he situates memory in the individual, Bartlett makes clear that memorization and recall are social functions, though his research does not allow us to look outside of stable, non-interactive groups. We do not see any stable, non-interactive groups in the *Chronica*, since Jordan has the friars constantly moving from one group inside the Friars Minor to another. However, Jordan shows that, at the provincial chapter at Halberstadt, he conforms to the social nature of memory and narrative suggested by Barrett, since we are told that he enthralled the attending friars with stories about the early days of the order.⁴⁶ The friars were so entranced that they not only asked Jordan to write down his memories but also provided feedback as to how he should do so.⁴⁷

Unlike Bartlett, Maurice Halbwachs' concept of memory is obscure and inconsistent in his exposition; however, where Bartlett conceives of stability, Halbwachs provides much needed fluidity. Halbwachs argues that memory mapping comes from social interaction, not from personal contemplation, meaning that structures or impressions are socially generated and that group membership lies at the core of the memory recall experience. For instance,

⁴⁵ Jordan, 62. Chapter 74: "Tunc temporis Sifridus maguntinensis archiepiscopus fratribus gravis fuit."

⁴⁶ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Anno ergo domini Millesimo CC°. LXII°. post capitulum halberstadense, in dominica Jubilate celebratum, in loco capituli remanentes me narrante et fratre Baldevino scribente utcumque desiderio satisfacere, et siquidem bene hoc, et ipse velim."

⁴⁷ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem."

Jordan would map out his memories of the 1221 general chapter by sharing them with an audience instead of by contemplating the events while alone.

Halbwachs' theory proves problematic in his hypothesis that memories are more than group-related experiences and instead that an individual's ability to recall memories derives not only from that individual's understanding of the group's mentality but from his or her active participation in and identification with the group. According to Halbwachs, the 1221 mission's social memories would have become truncated once any one of its members left the group or when the group dissolved, which Jordan suggest might have occurred shortly after the mission entered Germany. Not long after their arrival, Provincial Minister Caesar of Speyer started the process of separating the friars and sending them to different cities, such as Augsburg, Würzburg, Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strassburg, Cologne,⁴⁸ Salzburg, and Regensburg.⁴⁹ However, a former group member, such as Jordan, might retain memories if he or she also maintained a mental and emotional bond to the group. This caveat proves problematic since the members of the 1221 mission had retired back to Italy (such as Caesar of Speyer)⁵⁰ or been transferred to other regions (like John of Pian di Carpine),⁵¹ thereby preventing members of the group from preserving those bonds. Even though Jordan cannot

⁴⁸ Jordan, 44–5. Chapter 23: “Premisit autem fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Barnabam predicatorum in Herbipolim. Qui inde transierunt in Mogunciam et in Wormaciam et in Spiream et in Argentinam et in Coloniam.”

⁴⁹ Jordan, 45. Chapter 24: “Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch. Qui ab eiusdem loci episcopo benigne recepti sunt. Et alios tres fratres cum fratre Joseph misit ad Ratisponam.”

⁵⁰ Jordan, 47. Chapter 31: “[E]adem anno apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula celebrabatur, frater Cesarius a ministerii officio, cum annis duobus prefuisset, est absolutus et ibidem eidem frater Albertus de Pisa est substitutus.”

⁵¹ Jordan, 57. Chapter 57: “In quo capitulo frater Johannes de Plano Carpinis absolutus est et in Hispaniam pro ministro transmissus et ei frater Simon primus lector Theutonie est substitutus.”

have maintained mental or emotional bonds with members of the 1221 mission, his memories of that period and that group appear to remain vivid.

Within this framework, Halbwachs argues that people fill different subgroups within the group, which permits individuals to preserve memories that vary from those belonging to individuals in other subgroups. This differentiation causes individuals to believe that the memories are their own and arise from their own experiences, even though the individual remembers for the group.⁵² For example, Jordan exhibits that he has different memories than do the friars at Halberstadt. According to Halbwachs' model, then, Jordan sustains memories for the 1221 mission; however, these would be the group's memories and not Jordan's individual recollections.

Like Bartlett, Halbwachs envisages memory creation and recall within the terms of the individual's membership in a social group. Although Halbwachs' formulation allows for social fluidity by recognizing that individuals are members of more than one group at a time and acknowledging group instability, he also grounds an individual's ability to recall memories associated with a group within his or her physically or emotionally active membership in that group. Within Halbwachs' conception, the friars at Halberstadt form a subgroup within the Friars Minor, and Jordan would have been able to share memories with that subgroup. However, Halbwachs' theory suggests that Jordan's memories deriving from his involvement with other subgroups would have been very limited or nonexistent during his

⁵² Halbwachs and Gérard Namer, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Bibliothèque de l'évolution de l'humanité 8 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), viii, 50–61, 95–6, 98, 146, 278–9, 282, 290; Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40, 54, 172–3, 176, 183; Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 22–30, 49; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 158–65. Cubitt on Halbwachs: "Remembering, by contrast, depends on the recognition that particular impressions relate to past rather than to present experience, and remembering things in any sustained or coherent way involves a more detailed 'localization' of these impressions—the mental assignation of them to particular moments or periods in our past experience."

composition of the *Chronica*. That Jordan's older memories seem to be more profound than those memories associated with the friars at Halberstadt suggests that Jordan's retention of his memories of the 1221 mission was not dependent on his continued membership with that group even if those memories were created by and initially formulated as narrative through participation in it.

By contrast, Roger Bastide argues that group memory derives from relationships between individuals and that memory works to maintain or to reproduce a specific structure of social interactions. In his perspective, memory resides in the individual, but the individual's memory is situated within the broader whole of the group, meaning that the collective past contains the different viewpoints and positions of the group's members. In this way, Jordan's memories of the 1221 mission would have been his own, and his retrieval of them was not dependent on his continued membership in that group. However, these memories express only one viewpoint out of many possible frames of reference within the order.⁵³ According to Bastide, we cannot consider Jordan's memories as expressing the collective past for the entire order. Instead, we must take as many perspectives as possible into account in order to approach some semblance of the friars' collective past.

For Bastide, a group's collective memory depends on the memory of the organization, how people relate to each other in the organization, and the manner in which the roles they fill in the organization are connected. These memories are often recalled in the rituals of group participation, wherein group members invoke, memorialize, or re-enact the past and reaffirm group roles and associations.⁵⁴ Thus, Jordan's memories of events in 1221 would

⁵³ Roger Bastide, "Mémoire collective et sociologie du bricolage," *Année sociologique* 21 (1970): 84–97.

⁵⁴ Bastide, "Mémoire collective": 84–97.

have been those of a novice to the order and of a junior member of the mission to Germany. As a result, he would not have had the trust and confidence of either Francis or Caesar. Furthermore, he would not have been able to encounter anything that he saw and heard with the full comprehension of an experienced Franciscan. By 1262, though, Jordan had served in all but the highest ranks in the order; had bent the ear of the order's ministers, of popes, and of secular leaders; and had managed the friars in various regions. Consequently, Jordan was a recipient of the order's collective memory as Francis led the rituals at Assisi in 1221. By contrast, he was the primary wellspring of collective memory at Halberstadt in 1262.

Moreover, Bastide indicates that, as people shift roles and adapt to new situations, their memories focus more on individuals than on structures and values. He suggests that, with this change, individuals take possession of memory as a way to protect themselves from a competitive world. Within this conception, every time that Jordan experienced the stress from change, he would have found more reassurance by remembering people than he would have derived from thinking about social structures or values. However, when Jordan relates the events for 1221, he spends more time describing the process of organizing the mission than he does talking about people. These processes include sending emissaries ahead so as to prepare the locals for their arrival;⁵⁵ dividing the mission into groups of twos, threes, or fours so as to avoid attracting notice;⁵⁶ and seeking housing with the local clergy.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Jordan, 43. Chapter 19: “. . . vocatis fratribus suis fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Barnabam et aliquosdam alios misit ante faciem suam ad preparandum sibi et fratribus suis locum in Tridentum.”

⁵⁶ Jordan, 43–4. Chapter 19: “. . . aliis fratribus per trinos et quaternos subsequentibus.” Chapter 22: “binos trinosque confederans”

⁵⁷ Jordan, 43–4. Chapter 22: “Vicedominus vero cum tanto eos affectu recepit, ut a curia sua cederet et fratres in ipsa collocaret.”

Bastide's conception emphasizes three aspects of social memory. The first is that institutions and communities employ a diverse range of mnemonic economies, which permit a social organization to cultivate and foster "a sense of its own past," but this feeling differs between organizations regardless of the hold that perception has on the group members.⁵⁸ If we apply this theory to the Friars Minor in the thirteenth century, it suggests that the order encouraged the friars to remember those people and events that embodied Franciscan values and ideals, much as the friars at Halberstadt did when they encouraged Jordan to compose the *Chronica*.⁵⁹

The second, according to Richard Sennett, is that institutions and their mnemonic cultures exist within a broader structured society, both of which must respond to change in any form, including social, political or cultural change.⁶⁰ With respect to the friars at the Halberstadt provincial chapter, it is possible to argue that they requested Jordan to compose the *Chronica* because they perceived that his memories embodied their values and ideals in a manner that reacted to tensions with broader social, political, or cultural structures. For example, they might have used the *Chronica* as a reply to issues within the order as an international organization or to tensions with local magnates or prelates. Since the friars followed Francis and utilized memories of him as an exemplar, Franciscan authors set themselves apart from

⁵⁸ Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 165–71.

⁵⁹ Jordan, 33. "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem."

⁶⁰ Richard Sennett, "Disturbing Memories," in *Memory*, ed. Patricia Fara and Karalyn Patterson (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 15–19.

the broader lay and religious society in Christendom⁶¹ by using these memories of Francis to emphasize their values and ideals as well as to differentiate themselves from subgroups within the Friars Minor or from individuals or groups outside of the order.

The third, also according to Richard Sennett, is that the use of memory to create an individual construction of self exists in a relationship with social and institutional structures' use of memory, meaning that memories employed to define the self are always performed within a social context, thereby giving rise to multiple meanings and varying degrees of importance depending on the situation.⁶² One of the more relevant examples from the *Chronica* is Jordan's account of begging. Although Jordan recounts his personal experience of asking for alms from a laity reluctant to help him, he and his listeners would have understood the incident within the framework of Franciscan ideas about mendicancy. Moreover, because Jordan resisted the friars' requests to document his memories⁶³ and then set down very personal memories, such as his efforts at begging⁶⁴ or his translation of relics

⁶¹ Jordan, 34. "Ad gloriandum ergo in deo, qui hunc ordinem sua sapiencia adinvenit et per servum suum Franciscum mundo in exemplum posuit, et non in homine, quando et qualiter et per quos ad nos devenerit in sequentibus manifestius apparebit."

⁶² Sennett, "Disturbing Memories," 23–5; Bastide, "Mémoire collective": 65–108 (particularly 84–97 with quotes from 84–5, 91–2); See Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 129–36. Coleman's study investigates the manner in which Benedictine communities employed rigorous daily observances and ritual practices as a means to sever the monks' mnemonic relationships with the secular world. See also Catherine Cubitt, "Monastic Memory and Identity in Early Anglo-Saxon England," in *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrrell, Studies in the Early History of Britain (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2000), 253–76. Cubitt investigates how monasteries structured liturgical life in a rhythmic pattern that encouraged the monks to shape how they remembered the monastic community and certain models of holiness.

⁶³ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "[F]ratrum devoto desiderio statui annuere, maxime fratre Baldavino de Brandenburch me ad hoc instigante, qui et sponte et a fratre Bartholomeo, tunc ministro Saxonie, iussus se obtulit ad scribendum."

⁶⁴ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27: "Videns igitur, quod tali simulacione utili sibi et fratrum suorum necessitati posset subvenire, per 12 domos simili modo transiens tantum mendicabat, quod 7 fratribus sufficebat."

of Francis from Italy to Eisenach,⁶⁵ it is suggestive that Jordan expressed his individual self within the social setting of Halberstadt.

Schudson continue to expand on the work of Bartlett, Halbwachs, and Bastide and disagree as to how far memories are social or individual constructs. For example, Michael Schudson investigates how social memories become distorted and provides four arguments for why he believes that individual memory does not exist independently of social structures. Schudson posits, first, that the brain records memories through such cultural practices as “rules, laws, standardized procedures, and records,” while cultural practices convey a “moral continuity with the past.”⁶⁶ For the Friars Minor, these cultural practices comprised such written documents as Francis’ letters and the order’s rule as well as such unwritten practices as the friars’ methods of expansion that were instituted under Caesar of Speyer.⁶⁷ Second, people use dedicated forms of collective memory compressed within cultural artifacts, such as heirlooms and relics.⁶⁸ Jordan mentions relics of Francis that Thomas of Celano had given him and that he took to Eisenach.⁶⁹ Third, admitting that certain memories might reside in individuals, he suggests that these memories actually reside in groups of individuals, becoming more like group property than individual property.⁷⁰ Jordan exhibits this group

⁶⁵ Jordan, 57–8. Chapter 59: “Frater vero Jordanus in Theutoniam rediens venit ad fratrem Thomam de Selano; qui gavisus dedit ei de reliquiis beati Francisci.” Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

⁶⁶ Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion,” 346–8.

⁶⁷ Jordan, 43–4, 48–51. These methods included such practices as sending two or three friars ahead of the rest of the mission so as to allay any concerns that the local prelates might have had, moving into new regions in small groups instead of as a large crowd, and communicating—including preaching—in the local language.

⁶⁸ Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion,” 346–8.

⁶⁹ Jordan, 57–8. Chapter 59: “Frater vero Jordanus in Theutoniam rediens venit ad fratrem Thomam de Selano; qui gavisus dedit ei de reliquiis beati Francisci.” Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

⁷⁰ Schudson, “Dynamics of Distortion,” 346–8.

ownership most clearly when he reports that the friars in Halberstadt requested that he record his memories.⁷¹ While one could argue that Jordan also demonstrates his personal memories through the account of his begging in Germany,⁷² an event in which no other friar participated, Schudson's thesis would indicate that Jordan's audience took possession of his memories once he shared them with the group. Fourth, even when an individual does own a particular memory, he or she shares such memories through social constructs, such as language, interaction, and "socially structured patterns of recall."⁷³ We can see these social constructs with the composition of the *Chronica* since Jordan learned and employed language (whether Italian as a child, Latin as a clerical student, and German as an immigrant to Germany⁷⁴) and shared his memories (with the friars at the chapter and later with his amanuensis Baldwin⁷⁵) through interactions with other people. While Schudson's general thesis builds on the work of others, primarily that of Halbwachs, he provides a more detailed argument for the manner in which memory might reside in social structures.⁷⁶ Schudson's arguments, though, tend to elucidate how social structures—cultural practices, cultural artifacts, social remembering, and language—impact memory creation, reinforcement, and

⁷¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "[F]ratrum devoto desiderio statui annuere, maxime fratre Baldavino de Brandenburch me ad hoc instigante, qui et sponte et a fratre Bartholomeo, tunc ministro Saxonie, iussus se obtulit ad scribendum."

⁷² Jordan, 46. Chapter 27: "Videns igitur, quod tali simulacione utili sibi et fratrum suorum necessitati posset subvenire, per 12 domos simili modo transiens tantum mendicabat, quod 7 fratribus sufficebat."

⁷³ Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion," 346–8.

⁷⁴ Jordan, 46: Chapter 27: "Et precurrens fratrem, qui quotidie mendicabat, cepit latina lingua mendicare. Et responderunt Theutonici: 'Nos latinum non intelligimus. Loquere nobis theutonice!' Et frater corrupte proferens dixit: 'Nicht iudisch,' quod latine dicitur: 'Nihil theutonici, subaudi,' scio. Et adiecit theutonice: 'Brot durch got.'"

⁷⁵ Jordan, 33. "[P]ost capitulum halberstadense, in dominica Jubilate celebratum, in loco capituli remanentes me narrante et fratre Baldevino scribente utcumque desiderio satisfacere, et siquidem bene hoc, et ipse velim. Sin autem condescendendum est, quia, ut scitis, ut minus sapiens hoc aggredere, vos me coegistis."

⁷⁶ Schudson, "Dynamics of Distortion," 346–8.

recall, and these elucidations emphasize that memories reside in social structures rather than individuals.

For his part, psychoanalyst and developmental psychologist Tilmann Habermas argues that an individual's personality provides motivation regarding single memories as well as one's life story. He writes that individuals defend themselves against highly unbearable threats—whether embarrassment, guilt feelings, or anxiety—by distorting memories so that those memories agree more with their idealized self-conceptions. While the mind distorts and represses memories, it also condenses memories that share themes into a single memory. Condensed memories not only distort factual history but also disclose conflicts within the individual. People develop a sense of identity through life stories by integrating elements, such as parental values and childhood identifications, from many points throughout their lifetimes. This integrated life story works to bind identification from the past with that of the present, which is then assembled in a narrative.⁷⁷ Although he does not discount the importance of social memory, Habermas accentuates the internal emotions and mnemonic activities that require some degree of individuality as well as the effects of memory distortion within the individual.

According to Habermas' position, then, we must again wrestle with the prospect that Jordan's memories are distorted. These distortions might be displayed most readily in the *Chronica* through the integration of values and the expression of contemporary attitudes within descriptions of events in the past. Jordan integrates Franciscan values into his

⁷⁷ Tilmann Habermas, "Identity, Emotion, and the Social Matrix of Autobiographical Memory: A Psychoanalytic Narrative View," in *Understanding Autobiographical Memory: Theories and Approaches*, ed. Dorthe Berntsen and David C. Rubin (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 34–5.

narrative, such as tensions over martyrdom within the order⁷⁸ and how the friars acquired sustenance from the laity through begging.⁷⁹ Although Jordan spends very little time discussing the present, it might be that the manner in which he describes the past actually reflects his present. For example, even though Jordan indicates that Francis said in 1221 that he opposed martyrdom for anyone except himself,⁸⁰ this might have reflected attitudes among some of the friars in 1262 that Jordan projected backward in time.

For our purposes, these debates highlight that memory operates in the dynamic between the individual and broader social forces and emphasize how memory is expressed in oral and written cultures. As mentioned above, Jordan's *Chronica* is the product of his individual memories that formed through social situations with very different men than when Jordan recalled them in 1262 for the Franciscan German leadership. The friars at the Halberstadt chapter found their values reflected in the narratives from Jordan's individual memories and this reflection explains why they wanted Jordan to compose the *Chronica*. At the same time, the *Chronica* represents the result of the interplay between oral and written cultures as Jordan's memories formed when oral culture dominated the Friars Minor but he dictated these personal memories as the Franciscans explored identity more and more in written form in later decades.

⁷⁸ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: "Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis ac glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit."

⁷⁹ Jordan, 45–6. Chapter 27: "Videns igitur, quod tali simulacione utili sibi et fratrum suorum necessitati posset subvenire, per 12 domos simili modo transiens tantum mendicabat, quod 7 fratribus sufficiebat."

⁸⁰ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: "Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis ac glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit."

Narrative and Narrative Construction

Either when interacting with an audience or when composing the *Chronica*, Jordan reveals that he shared his memories through narratives. For example, when he mentions that he tells us that he had edified an audience of friars with the things that he had told them about the lives and conversations of the first friars to enter Germany,⁸¹ Jordan's description of what he told his audience draws on one or more storylines, even though he does not use any such word as "narratio." However, Jordan describes the composition of the *Chronica* in this manner in that he says that he was narrating ("narrante") and that Baldwin was writing ("scribente").⁸² While scholars might disagree as to whether memory is a purely social construct or includes an individual element, they all agree that a person must form a narrative from her or his memories in order to share them. As Jordan's *Chronica* demonstrates, we do not have direct access to Jordan's memories, but we must instead retrieve the information in his memories through the narrative that he created. Considering that we can only access memories through narrative, it might be helpful, then, to contemplate the ways in which people compose narratives from memory.

A question that we might ask is how people render memories into words. Donald Spence argues that memories are primarily visual, and the individual must translate these images—that only he or she can see—into a narrative that others might comprehend. He characterizes language as incapable of conveying memory's images because words not only misrepresent the image but also replace the image. Moreover, the words chosen by the individual contain

⁸¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur."

⁸² Jordan, 33. Prologue: "[I]n loco capituli remanentes me narrante et fratre Baldevino scribente utcumque desiderio satisfacere, et siquidem bene hoc, et ipse velim."

their own associations within the mind that further complicate any understanding or meaning given to the original memory. In this way, the narration of memories is an act of translation from nonverbal images and sensations to verbal expressions.⁸³ If we consider Jordan's description of the 1221 general chapter at Assisi, he tells us that 3,000 friars attended the chapter, that they slept in tents made out of branches, and that someone had arranged twenty-three tables.⁸⁴ Although Jordan furnishes this brief description of what he saw, each reader is left to imagine in his or her own manner what this event looked like. It is not likely that any reader, especially eight centuries later, will envisage the people, tents, and tables in any fashion that is similar to what Jordan beheld.

Moreover, not only does a person's choice of words shade the interpretation of a memory by that individual as well as by his or her audience, but the narrative also highlights particular aspects that distort and misrepresent the memory. Once translated, the memory changes from vague to specific, from impressions to "concrete" knowledge of it.⁸⁵ For his part, Maurice Bloch agrees that memories are nonverbal but argues that memories are reinterpreted every time they are recalled in terms of the individual's new context.⁸⁶ In this sense, we might imagine that Jordan was constantly reviewing and interpreting his memories, even as he created the narratives. His mnemonic interpretation and narrative creation were performed through the context of whatever situation in which he found himself and of his personal experiences. In other words, how Jordan related a memory depended upon how he

⁸³ Spence, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth*, 55–61, 86–7, 92; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 96–8.

⁸⁴ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: "Fratres autem cum tot pro fratribus edificia non haberent, in campo spacio et circumsepto sub umbraculis habitabant, comedebant et dormiebant viginti tribus mensis ordinate et distincte et spaciose compositis."

⁸⁵ Spence, *Narrative Truth and Historical Truth*, 55–61, 86–7, 92; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 96–8.

⁸⁶ Bloch, "Autobiographical Memory and the Historical Memory of the More Distant Past," 117–19.

interpreted that memory in light of his current status and relationships.

Autobiographical narratives typically form in conversation, where they are practiced, interpreted, and reworked. Individuals share autobiographical narratives more often orally than in writing, meaning that the narrative is not only apportioned gradually and hesitantly, but it is also repeated, reworked, and restructured frequently to suit different audiences and changing contexts.⁸⁷ As a result, we can suppose that Jordan's received narrative is well rehearsed and contains extra layers of interpretation. In order to achieve these layers, Jordan is likely to have added, subtracted, and replaced details within a given memory with alternative components and meanings.

One can also surmise that the narrative of a person's life is a fluid draft compared to the neat and tidy chronology of the historian. In fact, Alessandro Porticelli juxtaposes the oral historian's concentration on proper dating and chronological arrangement of the received narrative with the fluctuating and flexible use of time that individuals employ when recalling their memories and sharing their experiences.⁸⁸ In this sense, it is likely that Jordan's chronological sequence is an artificial construct that he has superimposed on the order of events as he remembered them. In other words, it is possible that he has put some events in the wrong order in terms of when they occurred, even though he has sequenced events to conform to the order in which he remembers them as having happened.

Moreover, we should note that oral autobiography is never complete. According to Jerome Bruner, an individual cannot finish his or her autobiography for two reasons: the first

⁸⁷ Samuel Schrager, "What Is Social in Oral History," in *The Oral History Reader*, ed. Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (New York: Routledge, 1998), 284–5; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 98–9, 105–7.

⁸⁸ Portelli, "'The Time of my Life': Functions of Time in Oral History," in *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State of University of New York, 1991), 613–73; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 105–6.

being that the individual has not yet died, and the second being that the individual is always revising it and finding new ways to narrate it.⁸⁹ In this way, we should view oral autobiographies, such as Jordan's stories before he composed the *Chronica*, as always existing in flux, changing and evolving within an individual's mind and always altered for varying audiences. Written autobiographies do not end these fluctuations but permit us to see how the individual composed the autobiography at a given moment in time and for a particular audience. In this fashion, the *Chronica* represents a snapshot of Jordan's thoughts at the time of composition in April of 1262. The manner in which he recorded his memories at any other point in time would have provided a potentially very different narrative.

The Reliability of Memory and Narrative

One of the problems with memory and the narratives that result from them is the issue of how reliable they are. Jordan suggests that his narrative might contain mistakes when he tells his readers that his narrative is subject to errors, because he is forgetful, although he ascribes his forgetfulness to being old ("senex") and frail ("debilis")⁹⁰ and not to the workings of the brain. For this reason, a few studies on the reliability of memory and mnemonic narratives can provide some helpful frames of reference for these descriptions of individual and social memory as they relate to this dissertation. The five studies chosen here elucidate the problems we face when we encounter memory narratives as well as how we can best use these narratives as historians.

⁸⁹ Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 33; Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame, "Life Stories in the Baker's Trade," in *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*, ed. D. Bertaux (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1981); Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 107.

⁹⁰ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Super annorum vero numero, sicubi per oblivionem utpote iam senex et debilis ut homo erravi, veniam postulo a lectore monens, ut ubicumque me errasse invenerit, caritative corrigat et emendet."

When an event has a great impact on an individual, the brain forms stronger connections between mnemonic elements, and, the stronger these connections, the more vivid that memory remains despite the passage of time. In “Reliability and Validity in Oral History: The Case for Memory,” Alice M. and Howard S. Hoffman describe an experiment in which, on two separate occasions, Howard Hoffman recounted a memory from his experiences in World War II. Even though a considerable amount of time passed between retellings, Howard Hoffman’s second retelling fairly accurately resembled the first one, with only small errors in detail and some elements missing from his later memory. The Hoffmans utilized historical information found in archives, museums, published books, photographs, and conversations with other soldiers in his unit to corroborate the details and overall narrative of Howard Hoffman’s retellings.⁹¹ What the experiment shows is that a narrative, once constructed, can remain in memory for long periods of time, which suggests a sense of stability for vivid memories. This experiment suggests that Jordan could have firmly established his memories of events as soon as he had composed narratives about them.

While particular details in a memory might be imprecise or mistaken, the narratives that are used to convey them generally display a correctness in the main. Ulric Neisser employs “John Dean’s Memory” to explore the complexity of remembering using transcripts from the U.S. Senate Watergate hearings in June 1973 and from President Richard M. Nixon’s secret Oval Office recordings of meetings on 15 September 1972 and 21 March 1973. Unlike most memory research projects, Neisser investigated an individual’s memory using documents and recordings that were created in political circumstances, private and public, instead of test subjects in a carefully controlled test. Nixon’s secret recordings captured conversations that

⁹¹ Hoffman and Hoffman, “Reliability and Validity in Oral History,” 107–35.

White House Counsel John Dean later tried to remember for the Senate hearings, and the senators grilled him on the extent and accuracy of his memory of those conversations. Neisser's analysis of these transcripts indicates that Dean's accounts were often inaccurate as to both details and gist, although they did reflect the overall tenor or impression of the discussions. More to the point, as Neisser writes, Dean's account of his memories indicate his "fantasies" or desires regarding what he wanted to have occurred more than what actually transpired.⁹² In this manner, Neisser highlights the ways in which memories can be distorted consciously and subconsciously yet still provide a sense of events that an audience would consider correct. The primary problem that we have with Dean's testimony is that we cannot judge how much of his narrative was distorted consciously and how much unconsciously. Although we can determine that Dean sought to increase his role—and therefore his importance—in the Nixon administration, we cannot ascertain what other goals played a part in how he constructed his narratives. In applying Neisser's study to the *Chronica*, we can suppose that Jordan's memories were also distorted, but that the overall sense of his narrative remains true to events.

Once a narrative enters social memory, that memory relies on fluctuations in society for the way in which the members of a community remember that social memory in response to a community's need to share its values. Alessandro Portelli investigates, in "The Death of Luigi Trastulli," the manner in which the details of an event with little social meaning can be altered in social memory to give it greater meaning in a different time and context. Italian newspapers published two different narratives about Luigi Trastulli's death: the daily papers in Rome and Milan published what constituted the official political narrative while the

⁹² Neisser, "John Dean's Memory": 1–22; McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion*, 115–22; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 85–9, 187.

Communist paper printed a counter narrative. Despite the differing political narratives, both versions agreed that Trastulli's accidental death occurred as part of a relatively minor confrontation between the military and anti-NATO protesters in the streets of Terni on 17 March 1949. Years later, Portelli conducted a number of oral interviews in which individuals remembered a slightly different narrative. The narrative shifted to an altercation with local police in 1953 after the firing of factory workers, in which the police purportedly killed Trastulli on the factory grounds. According to Portelli, this shift occurred because social memory "manipulates factual details and chronological sequence in order to serve three major functions:" to provide a proper symbolic context, to heal the psychological wounds of those surviving the incident, and to create a formal compensation for the temporal shift.⁹³

The importance of Portelli's study is that it contests the argument of positivist historians that facts and details constitute the most useful information in a given source. By showing how communities initially construct narratives for political purposes and then renegotiate those narratives for later political comprehension, Portelli demonstrates that people use data within narratives so as to understand events within their particular cultural dynamic in order to express their individual or group values. When people modify these narratives, these alterations indicate changes in comprehension and values. Moreover, by juxtaposing the "narrated self," or the individual's self at the time of the event, with the "narrating self," or the individual who is sharing the narrative, Portelli elucidates how each interview or act of remembering "involves a dialectical relationship between these different selves at different times."⁹⁴ This study suggests that when the Friars Minor as a community assimilated a

⁹³ Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli," 1–26.

⁹⁴ Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," 77–80, 90–1; Ritchie, "Introduction: the Evolution of Oral History," 13–16; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 88. According to Cubitt, "in their different ways, Neisser and

memory into social memory, they altered and adjusted that social memory to reflect their community's identity and values. Moreover, the Franciscans, Jordan included, would have continued to modify the social memory to reflect changes in their values.

Cultures long accustomed to orality do not worry much about accuracy in narratives since they commonly view myth as equal to fact and look more for subjective meaning than they do objective facts. With "Remembering the Past and the Good Old Law," Michael T. Clanchy surveys the interplay between orality and literacy in twelfth-century English court documents. Because individuals in illiterate societies gather their information through conversation with others, the distinction between "fact and fiction, history and myth" remains unclear. As individuals share information, they transform that information with each retelling because it is used to validate current social relationships instead of past events. Because people remember recent events more clearly, mnemonic time is relative and the ability to recall memories of older events depends on the oldest living person in the group, and anything beyond their experience lies in the realm of myth. Since myth is neither true nor false but unverifiable, Clanchy writes that "myth is valid precisely because it is outside memory." Indeed, illiterate societies utilize myth alongside fact because they seek meaning, not objectivity.⁹⁵ As a result, Clanchy's explorations suggest that we should not look for veracity regarding past events in Jordan's narratives, because cultures, such as the Friars Minor, where orality dominates concern themselves more with current events and frame tales of the past in terms of the present.

Portelli both highlight the impossibility of separating memories of particular events from the broader contexts and longer histories to which those events may be related. Events are porous; meaning seeps across their boundaries."

⁹⁵ Clanchy, "Remembering the Past": 165–81; Ong, *Orality and Literacy*, 95.

Individuals can craft textual memories to replace erasures of social memory caused by the disruptions, dispersals, or destructions of communities that created and attempted to preserve specific social memories. In “Remembering, Forgetting, and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age,” Sarah Foot argues that King Alfred (849–899, r. 871–899) created the notion of a common past so as to fill in a mnemonic erasure caused by the Danish wars (793–896). In doing so, Alfred ignored many individual memories of the past in his construction of a new collective memory. Moreover, this textual memory provided his subjects with a unity they had not known beforehand by suggesting that all “English” peoples (whether Angles, Saxons, Frisians, or Jutes), had suffered from the violence of the Danish wars, from the loss of family and community members, and from the loss of knowledge that was contained in destroyed books. Indeed, Foot contends that however much people might share their versions of past events within social situations, an individual’s act of remembering is nonetheless a solitary activity no matter how much he or she borrows from multiple memories.⁹⁶ While the Franciscans also suffered dislocation because of violence, from the Mongols in Eastern Europe and from the war between Frederick II and the papacy, the rapid growth of the order and Francis’ death caused an even greater dislocation to the Friars Minor. Without the founder to unite the friars with his example and explanations of Franciscan salvation, various Friars sought to fill this erasure with their own versions of textual social memories, such as Jordan’s *Chronica*.

These studies indicate that we cannot and should not look at mnemonic accounts in terms of recounting the past accurately. Although the Hoffmans’ study suggests that Jordan would vividly be able to remember the significant events in which he participated after forty or so

⁹⁶ Foot, “Remembering, Forgetting, and Inventing”: 185–200.

years, his narratives would not be wholly precise even if they were broadly accurate.

Neisser's investigation of John Dean's memories reaffirms that people often do not recall every detail as it happened, since people alter those details consciously and unconsciously for different purposes, even though their overall narrative relates how things generally occurred. With Jordan, we do not know how his narrative might have changed because we typically have neither the original event from other sources nor other versions from Jordan from before 1262. Portelli's investigation of the social memory of Luigi Trastulli shows that people can alter details of memories of events so as to provide greater meaning to them. Although we cannot determine whether or not this has happened with Jordan, since we only have many of these stories from Jordan, Portelli's work further suggests that we cannot trust the details of a narrative. Furthermore, Clanchy informs us that largely oral societies, such as Jordan's, do not routinely concern themselves with strict accuracy when recalling events, particularly from the distant past. Instead, medieval people would have been more interested in rearranging information in those memories so as to provide meaning to social interactions in the present. Lastly, Foot indicates that texts can serve to replace disparate, scattered social memories that survive only in oral transmission with a textual social memory that provides a cohesive, unifying narrative. The impact of these studies on our analysis of the *Chronica* is that we must accept that Jordan probably does not describe events exactly as they occurred; however, we can still repose trust in the gist of what he reports, especially as it relates to the Franciscan leadership in Germany in 1262.

Although much of this scholarship about memory makes use of modern theories and subject matter, we suggest that this research, particularly as it is used in oral history, is applicable to Jordan's thirteenth-century *Chronica* in a homologous or analogous manner. As

it is, Clanchy and Foot have already worked on the manner in which medieval societies employed or manipulated memory in ways that are similar to that used in modern societies. For instance, Clanchy cites anthropological studies regarding the Tiv, a tribe in Africa, who subconsciously adapted their genealogical memories to reflect ongoing changes in social relationships. More specifically, the Tiv attributed the founding of their people to Ndewura Jakpa, and they would symbolically alter his family structure to match the current government structure. The Tiv would do this by ascribing to Jakpa the same number of sons that he had to the number of divisions within the present government; each time the number of divisions within the government changed, the number of sons that Jakpa had changed within the community's memory.⁹⁷ For her part, Foot employs her study of English memory of the Danish Wars to contest some of the implications of modern work on social memory—the argument that all memory is the result of social interaction and that all memory is therefore social memory. Instead, she argues that memory involves the personal element of restructuring memories that have been shared socially and that what scholars term “social memory” is not truly memory but instead the process of sharing remembrances.⁹⁸ In a similar fashion, we suggest that Hoffmans', Neisser's, and Ponterelli's studies can be applied to studies of medieval memory. Even though each of these investigations concentrated on memories of events in the twentieth century, they inquire into how humans construct and reconstruct narratives from memory over time. Indeed, these studies appear to be analogous, if not homologous, since they reveal memory to be somewhat mutable in terms of the

⁹⁷ Clanchy, “Remembering the Past,” 166–8.

⁹⁸ Foot, “Remembering, Forgetting, and Inventing,” 187–8.

accuracy of the details but constant in regard to the manner in which these memories are used to reflect a community's current values.

Group Identity

In our discussion of using memory to construct a narrative, the use of narrative to create a group identity has arisen as a recurring leitmotif. Since people form narratives within social settings, often using each individual's memory so as to create group memory, it is useful to consider whether this group memory aids individuals in the construction of a group identity. Although Jordan suggests that the friars at Halberstadt in 1262 wanted the *Chronica* as an expression of group identity for the Friars Minor in Germany, we can also see a firm expression of Franciscan group identity in Jordan's declaration that Francis and the order serve as an example for the world, a belief that he believes the reader will see within the *Chronica*. In other words, he states that the Francis and the *Chronica*, both serve as expressions of group identity for the Friars Minor.⁹⁹

Constructing narratives that express an individual's identity is a fluid process for many reasons. According to Bruner, we construct—and reconstruct—our identities through the narratives that we share. Since our raw materials—language and culturally available narrative structures—are relatively flexible, they permit people to form widely differentiated identities.¹⁰⁰ For instance, we can compare Jordan's *Chronica* with Thomas of Eccleston's

On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England, Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Frances*

⁹⁹ Jordan, 33–4. Prologue: “Ad gloriandum ergo in deo, qui hunc ordinem sua sapientia adinvenit et per servum suum Franciscum mundo in exemplum posuit, et non in homine, quando et qualiter et per quos ad nos devenerit in sequentibus manifestius apparebit.”

¹⁰⁰ Bruner, “Self-Making Narratives,” in *Autobiographical Memory and the Construction of a Narrative Self: Developmental and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Robyn Fivush and Catherine A. Hadins (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 2003), 210–23.

and *Remembrances of the Desire of a Soul*, John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the "We who were with him" texts of the *Assisi Compilation* for the manner in which they each use memories—sometimes from different individuals who participated in the same event—and furnish Franciscan group identities that vary from one another.

Moreover, not only do identity narratives evolve as a person ages, but they also vary according to changing circumstances in the individual's life or to a given audience. Indeed, we calculate many different social variables when we compose an identity narrative, taking into account such things as other people's feelings and emotional states as well as our own desires in the information that we wish to share and the potential impact it might have in how others think about us.¹⁰¹ In this way, Jordan's composition of the narrative that we call his *Chronica* proved an essential element in identity construction for the Friars Minor in Germany. Furthermore, Jordan relied on social interaction for creating both the narrative and his version of the Franciscan identity.

Although an explicit relationship between memory and identity proves elusive, since individuals and groups constantly revise them so as to construct narratives, it is important to note that individuals and groups employ narratives to form group identity. Cubitt describes the relationship in terms of the individual, since he views it as a search for "selfhood." For instance, when ninety friars volunteered to evangelize Germany, Jordan decided that it would be a good idea to know these friars' names in case they were martyred by the German people

¹⁰¹ Bruner, "Self-Making Narratives," 210–23.

so that they could be remembered.¹⁰² When Palmerius, one of these volunteers, attempted to convince Jordan to join the mission, he resisted Palmerius' efforts out of fear of becoming a martyr himself.¹⁰³ In this way, Jordan set himself apart from the other friars both by his desire to remember the potential martyrs and by his determination to avoid martyrdom.

However, that relationship between narrative and identity can be extended to the use of social memory to form a group identity. For his part, Bruner argues that people do not "remember" who they are as "selves" but mentally construct a personal identity out of a range of available materials, including memories, narrative conventions, cultural stereotypes, myths, and collective expectations. They are operative conceptions, not "remembered realities." In this perspective, the self needs continual maintenance through its use of other schemata.¹⁰⁴ In this conception, Jordan would have borrowed different schemata from others throughout his life, and he would then use these schemata to define and to redefine his personal identity. For example, he would have learned the values associated with what it meant to be a Friar Minor from other friars as they shared memories and myths about Francis and his companions. He would have imbibed from them cultural stereotypes both about how both friars and non-friars should conduct themselves. As an example, Jordan describes how the friars on the 1219 missions bore the persecution of the German and Hungarian peoples,

¹⁰² Jordan, 40–1. Chapter 18: "Qui videns multos fratres surgere paratos ad eundem in Theutonium, estimans eos statim a Theutonicis martirizandos et dolens, quod fratres missos in Hispaniam et martirizatos nominatenus non noverat, volens in istis cavere, quod sibi acciderat in illis, surgens de medio omnium ivit ad illos."

¹⁰³ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: "Et ille nomen Theutonicorum abhorrens respondit: 'Non sum de vestris, sed nosse volens vos ad vos veni, non animo vobiscum eundi.'"

¹⁰⁴ Bruner, "The 'Remembered' Self," in *The Remembering Self: Construction and Accuracy in the Self-narrative*, ed. Ulric Neisser and Robyn Fivush (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 43, 53. See Thomson, "Memory and Remembering in Oral History," 90. Thomson agrees with this conception by writing that memory and identity are involved in a "dynamic and dialectical relationship."

who threatened, beat, and shamed them.¹⁰⁵ Jordan's notion of how the friars were to carry themselves while among nonbelievers, by suffering any persecution that befell them, came from his understanding of the *Rule of 1221*,¹⁰⁶ from stories about Francis and friars on missions,¹⁰⁷ and from his own experiences in Germany.¹⁰⁸

Not all scholars, though, agree that identity formation is a purely social process. For instance, Cubitt contrasts these perspectives with that of psychoanalytic psychologists, who view identity as an expression of the psyche and not as a mental construct needing maintenance.¹⁰⁹ For these psychologists, Jordan's identity would not have been a social construct but instead the result of who he was cognitively. While he might share his identity within a social structure, that identity would not have been dependant on interaction with

¹⁰⁵ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “[C]um divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspidē sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt.”

¹⁰⁶ *Regula nonbullata*, 268–71. “Fratres vero, qui vadunt, duobus modis inter eos possunt spiritualiter conversari. Unus modus est, quod non faciant lites neque contentiones, sed sint subditi *omni humanae creaturae propter Deum* et confiteantur se esse christianos. Alius modus est, quod, cum viderint placere Domino, annuntient verbum Dei, ut credant Deum omnipotentem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, creatorem omnium, redemptorem et salvatorem Filium, et ut baptizentur et efficiantur christiani, quia *quis renatus non fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum Dei*.”

¹⁰⁷ Jordan, 33–6. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem.” Chapter 3: “[F]rater Franciscus . . . misit fratres in Franciam, in Theutonium, in Ungariam, in Hispaniam et ad alias provincias Italie, ad quas fratres non pervenerant.”

¹⁰⁸ Jordan, 46, 49, 51, 57–8. Chapter 24: “Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch.” Chapter 38: “Eodem anno frater Albertus de Pisa, minister Theutonie, videns incrementum Saxonie et quod per Thuringiam erat transiturus de Saxonia ad Renum misit fratrem Jordanum guardianum de Moguncia cum 7 fratribus in Thuringiam, ut domos reciperent et fratres in locis competentibus collocaret.” Chapter 39: “Frater vero Jordanus cum fratribus suis de Moguncia iter veniendi in Thuringiam VI. kalendas Novembris arripuit et in die sancti Martini Erfordiam pervenit.” Chapter 43: “Ille autem qui a burgensibus fuerat fratribus procurator datus interrogans fratrem Jordanum, si ad modum claustrī sibi vellet edificari, ipse quia nunquam viderat claustra in ordine, respondit: ‘Nescio quid sit claustrum; tantum edificate nobis domum prope aquam, ut ad lavandum pedes in ipsam descendere possimus.’ Et ita factum est.” Chapter 59: “Attonito autem fratre Jordano super novo modo recipiendi et manu innuente, ut tacerent, ipsi quod inceperant cum iubilo compleverunt. Super quo cum frater Jordanus stuperetur et miraretur, venit sibi in memoriam, quod reliquias beati Francisci, quas pre stupore oblivioni tradiderat, apud se haberet.”

¹⁰⁹ Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 92–6.

other individuals.

Regardless of whether we lean toward considering either the social or the individual as the repository of identity, neither school positions the self as able to stand on its own. Not only is self-identity reliant on other aspects of the mental makeup, but psychologists even consider that the mind constructs multiple identities that we use for different situations. The instability of memory plays a part in the formation of multiple identities because of the uncertainty that memory presents. Since memory contains lacunae and imprecise impressions, an individual or a community is presented with a variety of suggestions and possibilities about the past, and each of these useful identities, like memory, remains under constant questioning and revision.¹¹⁰ In this way, people, such as Jordan and the Friars Minor, would have constructed narratives from memories as a way to create identities and share them through social storytelling. The formulation of several identities is not the same as saying that a person has multiple personalities, though the latter might arise from the former. Instead, the presence of multiple identities is better explained as a person presenting him- or herself in different ways in different circumstances, such as the formal context of Jordan composing the *Chronica*¹¹¹ versus the informal one of him sharing stories with the other friars.¹¹² For this reason, it is difficult to say that a person—or even an organization—possesses a single identity; instead, we should look at identities and the tensions between

¹¹⁰ Paul Antze and Michael Lambek, eds. *Tense Past: Cultural Essays in Trauma and Memory* (New York: Routledge, 1996), xvi; Jonathan Glover, *I, the Philosophy and Psychology of Personal Identity* (London: Allen Lane; Penguin Press, 1988), 139–53; Thomson, *Anzac Memories: Living with the Legend* (Melbourne; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 10.

¹¹¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Anno ergo domini Millesimo CC°. LXII°. post capitulum halberstadense, in dominica Jubilate celebratum in loco capituli remanentes me narrante et fratre Baldevino scribente utcumque desiderio satisfacere, et siquidem bene hoc, et ipse velim.”

¹¹² Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem.”

them.

In their research, scholars describe the manner in which people construct identity formation in much the same way that they create narratives, in that they both result from individual and social tensions and fluctuate over time as the individual recreates his or her identity with each audience. For instance, Yow describes how oral history interviewees usually have agendas when they share their stories. These agendas can include the desire to suppress certain information in order to provide a particular impression or to place the subject of the interview in a positive or a negative light. These agendas help explain why people create myths about themselves and others and why these myths become part of a family or group narrative.¹¹³ For Jordan, we might also wonder about the agendas of the friars at Halberstadt who wanted him to record his memories. In what way did these friars find meaning in what Jordan told them, and what does that meaning tell us about them?

Moreover, since the *Chronica* was set to parchment at a much later date than the date of events narrated in the chronicle, we must consider that the *Chronica* presents a different narrative—and a different identity—than Jordan would have provided forty years earlier and did so in a different context for that narrative and its embedded values. For instance, as Daniel Bertaux and Isabelle Bertaux-Wiame indicate, how one remembers an event depends on the individual's place in life and achievements. In their interviews of almost one hundred French bakery workers, they found that the interviewees related experiences that consisted of the same story line, but that the age of the interviewee was a good indicator of where that story rested along the story line of a French baker's life. As studies of memory and the

¹¹³ John Byng-Hall, "The Power of Family Mythos," interviewed by Paul Thompson, in *The Myths We Live By*, ed. Raphael Samuel and Paul Thompson (London; New York: Routledge, 1990), 216–24; Yow, "Biography and Oral History," 440–3; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 139.

production of oral history indicate, people create narratives so as to make sense of their memories, a process that forces them to prioritize certain pieces of information over others, a prioritization that changes over time and with different audiences.¹¹⁴ Extrapolating from this to Jordan's circumstances, it can be suggested that the context of the *Chronica* shapes the way in which the author chose and presented the information within the context of the period in which he wrote and not the context of the period when the events occurred. Since Jordan's priorities were those of the man dictating a narrative in 1262 about a man who went to Germany in 1221, we need to look more at the state of the order in 1262 to understand the details and the narrative priorities in the *Chronica*, notwithstanding the date of the events narrated in the chapters.

Additionally, Anne Karpf relates how her parents inculcated family culture in their children. As part of culture, families repeat certain stories more than others because they reinforce certain individual or family traits. She portrays these stories as a form of DNA that encode meaning to succeeding generations.¹¹⁵ We see suggestions of this in the *Chronica*, since Jordan indicates that he was telling some of these stories at the Halberstadt chapter and that the friars wanted these stories preserved in text.¹¹⁶ We can suppose that their intention was to make these tales available for succeeding generations of the Friars Minor, particularly since several later generations of Franciscan writers (such as Nicholas Glassberger in

¹¹⁴ Bertaux and Bertaux-Wiame, "Life Stories in the Baker's Trade," 186–8.

¹¹⁵ Anne Karpf, *The War After: Living with the Holocaust* (London: Heinemann, 1996), 16–17; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 139.

¹¹⁶ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem."

1491,¹¹⁷ Johannis de Komorowo in 1508¹¹⁸ and 1534–1535,¹¹⁹ and Francesco Gonzaga in 1587¹²⁰) did borrow generously from Jordan's *Chronica* for their expositions of Franciscan memory. Moreover, John Byng-Hall asserts that a story's details are often inaccurate and that we should pay more attention to the ways in which each generation remembers the story and uses it to understand what it means to be a member of the family.¹²¹ As a result, we would need to look more closely at how Glassberger, Komorowo, and Gonzaga employed the *Chronica* in order to see how their generations gave new meaning to Jordan's memories. We might suspect, though, that they each reinterpreted these memories in a fashion that gave them more significance to their respective audiences. In this way, we can consider identities to be as social as they are individual, with groups having a say in how an individual constructs them, whether to praise or to disparage, and they pass these identities on to succeeding generations as a means to maintain the individual's role within the group or the group's place within society.

Jordan's importance to historians principally comes from his being an eyewitness to Francis of Assisi at the 1221 General Chapter at Assisi and to the early spread of the Franciscan order into Germany, and some scholars have emphasized this quality. For example, Johannes Schlageter writes that instead of a chronicle, Jordan provides an eyewitness narrative of those things he saw and heard.¹²² Rosalind B. Brooke compares

¹¹⁷ Glassberger, *Chronica*.

¹¹⁸ Komorowo, *Tractatus cronice Fratrum Minorum Obseruancie*.

¹¹⁹ Komorowo, *Memoriale Ordinis Fratrum Minorum*.

¹²⁰ Gonzaga, *De origine Seraphicae religionis Fra[n]ciscanae*.

¹²¹ Byng-Hall, "The Power of Family Mythos," 216–24.

¹²² Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano": 6.

Jordan to “a witness for the prosecution,” since our Italian author provides testimony regarding his part in Elias’ downfall.¹²³ Jan Vansina asserts that an eyewitness does more than perceive an event since he or she is emotionally impacted by it. Moreover, people have expectations regarding the event, and these expectations shape how they actually perceive it, thereby distorting their memory of it.¹²⁴ Even though David B. Pillemer explores intense memories created by “shock, danger, or death,” he writes that “vivid and persistent” memories do arise from more positive events, such as love or “personal milestones or turning points.” These memories are unique and not repeated; such memories as the birth of a child, falling in love with another person, marriage, dangerous moments, and death.¹²⁵ In this respect, an individual’s emotional state and expectations mediate his or her perception of an event, and Jordan’s memories of these events would be no exception. Since Jordan spent most of his life in leadership positions and in spreading the Franciscan mission, it can be argued that these aspects of his life would shape his worldview, his narrative, and his identity, making him more than an ordinary eyewitness in that he was not a passive observer of events but was instead an active player in the incidents that structure his narrative.

Conclusion

Although scholars disagree as to the nature of memory—whether it is an individual or social construct, or a combination of the two—they nonetheless have formulated a descriptive framework that contributes to our understanding of how memory works. Within this

¹²³ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 27.

¹²⁴ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 4–5.

¹²⁵ David B. Pillemer, *Momentous Events, Vivid Memories* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998), 2–4; McGaugh, *Memory and Emotion*, 85–91.

framework, Jordan's ability to remember begins with his capacity to recognize himself as a unique human being who could differentiate the past from the present. While the *Chronica* does not provide enough information for us to argue one way or another on the issue of whether memory resides in the individual or in social sharing, we can assert that Jordan's memory was subject to amalgamating similar memories and to forgetting information, both of which affected what he remembered and the manner in which he remembered it. Furthermore, Jordan was likely to rework and reshape a memory during the process of creating a narrative for a particular audience. Since his audience at Halberstadt consisted of like-minded administrators in the Friars Minor, we could suppose that he shaped his stories to encode values that they embraced and to exhibit a group identity to which they could subscribe. The consequence is that we should not depend on the *Chronica* for a factual recounting of events. Instead, it might be constructive to conceive of Jordan's text as a portrayal of a series of events from the past in a manner that elicits a particular view of Franciscan ideals and identity—one that is emblematic of a specific time and place and with a distinct audience in mind.

CHAPTER 3: MEMORY AND MISSION IN JORDAN'S *CHRONICA*

As shown above, Jordan indicates that his composition relies on his memories, such as when he says that the friars had asked him to write down (“conscriberem”) those things that he could recall from memory (“ad memoriam revocare possem”).¹ Indeed, the importance of his memories comes to the fore when Jordan relates the events at the 1221 general chapter at Assisi in chapters 16–18, in which he recounts how Francis decided to send a new mission to Germany. The last of these three chapters contains the story of a “certain friar” (“quidam frater”) who did not want to join the mission. At the end of the chapter, he reveals that this particular friar is himself, Jordan (“Iste est frater Jordanus de Jano”).²

In this chapter, we explore the extent to which Jordan relied on personal and collective memory and eyewitness testimony to compose the entire *Chronica*, given that, despite his reluctance or inability to consult written texts during the process of its composition, he was nonetheless in dialogue with an oral tradition that was partially expressed in written texts composed in Italy. The questions that we ask therefore pertain to the types of sources—texts, eyewitness testimony, collective memory, or personal memory—that Jordan used, with

¹ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem.” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 20–7.

² Jordan, 39–42. Chapter 18: “Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumpetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare.” and “Iste est frater Jordanus de Jano, qui hoc vobis scribit, qui tali eventu in Theutonium venit, qui furorem Theutonicorum, quem horruit, evasit, qui ordinem minorum cum fratre Cesario et aliis fratribus primitus in Theutonia plantavit.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45.

whom Jordan was in dialogue concerning the concept and process of carrying out Franciscan mission, and the issues regarding mission that he addressed. These questions serve to focus our exploration of Jordan's *Chronica* on those sources that he utilized, which sources he used the most often, how he used them, and how he reacted to them.

Any exploration of Jordan's *Chronica*, however, must flow from an investigation of the coherent story structure within the surviving extant manuscripts that can be taken to represent Jordan's intended narrative arrangement. Unfortunately, the original manuscript is lost; however, two extant manuscripts exist in Poland. The Kórnik manuscript (cod. 97) is preserved in the Biblioteka Kórnicka at Kórnik, and what is known as the Berlin manuscript (Cod. theol. lat. quarto 196) is located at the Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Krakow.³ The scribe responsible for the Kórnik manuscript conscientiously marked divisions between texts and between chapters within the text through a combination of larger script for the titles as well as the liberal use of red and blue inks to demarcate new chapters. Indeed, the copyist indicates a change in chapters with either an enlarged capital letter in alternating red and blue ink or with a red pilcrow.⁴ The copyist of the Krakow manuscript was not so kind to later readers, as he omitted the use of both larger script and the use of colored inks to differentiate either texts or chapters within a text. However, the Krakow manuscript's copyist deploys the same textual articulation as the Kórnik copyist does by beginning each chapter on a new line.⁵ Even though each copyist used different methods to divide the *Chronica* into chapters,

³ Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 3; Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, xii–xvi. Although discovered in König, Germany, at the Königlichen Archiv zu Königsberg/Ostpreuen in 1830, the Berlin manuscript is so named because it was stored in Berlin at the Königliche Bibliothek (now the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin) in Berlin until the 1940s. During World War II, the Berlin manuscript was moved to Krakow.

⁴ Kórnik Manuscript, cod. 97.

⁵ Berlin Manuscript, Cod. theol. lat. quarto 196.

an examination of where each copyist demarcates the beginning of a new chapter indicates that the copyists were in agreement regarding the correct articulation of the text. This conformity of chapter division suggests that the textual structure derives from the original manuscript and resulted from consultation between Jordan and Baldwin of Brandenburg, his amanuensis, regarding where each chapter began and ended. This consensus, then, helps to create a consistent narrative structure that credibly reflects Jordan and Baldwin's intentions.

Personal Memory in the *Chronica*

As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, the *Chronica* seems to demonstrate that Jordan utilized his personal memories as a primary source for his composition. At the 1262 provincial chapter at Halberstadt, for example, when he relates how he told stories about how the friars first attempted to evangelize Germany in 1221, Jordan uses the terms “me referente aliquociens” and “ad memoriam revocare possem.”⁶ However, when he recounts the 1219 missions to France, Spain, Germany, and Hungary, as we will discuss later in this chapter, we should understand that neither Jordan nor his audience participated in these expeditions and so they could not have had direct access to memories of them. Instead, we can surmise that Jordan heard about these missions through the Franciscans' collective memory (such as for the missions to Spain and France)⁷ or from friars who were involved in these missions (such as the missions to Germany and Hungary).⁸ As a result, we suggest in this chapter that Jordan

⁶ Jordan, 33. Prologue: “Cum me referente aliquociens aliqua de primitivorum fratrum in Theutonium missorum et conversacione et vita fratres plerique audientes edificarentur, a multis multociens sum rogatus, ut et narrata et alia que ad memoriam revocare possem, conscriberem et annos domini quibus fratres in Theutuniam missi sunt et quibus hoc vel illud accidit, annotarem.”

⁷ Jordan, 34–6. Chapters 3, 4, 7.

⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapters 5–6.

depended primarily on personal and collective memory and eyewitness testimony to compose the *Chronica* and that he only borrows one narrative, which he alters and augments, from a textual source. In order to explore this point further, we will ask which chapters exhibit traces of personal memory, collective memory, eyewitnesses, or textual sources; when Jordan entered the Friars Minor; and whether or not Jordan was a participant in or a witness to events in chapters 1–15. With these questions, we are asking where Jordan derived his information and whether or not he could have been an eyewitness to many of the events that historians have ascribed to his personal memory.

One of the most convincing pieces of evidence that much of the *Chronica* derived from Jordan's personal memory is that Jordan presents himself as a source through most of the text. He makes his presence apparent in these chapters by establishing himself as an active participant in the events that he recounts. Although we see this presence in the Prologue, where he articulates his motivation for composing the *Chronica*,⁹ it is his participation in the running narrative of the *Chronica* that is more illustrative.¹⁰ Sometimes, Jordan openly presents himself as a participant, such as when he led the mission into Thuringia in 1223 (chapters 39–47),¹¹ where he refers to himself as “Brother Jordan” (“Frater . . . Jordanus”) (chapter 39).¹² Indeed, he refers to himself in a similar manner when he recounts how he was

⁹ Jordan, 33–4 (prologue); Zips, *Franziskus von Assisi*, 17; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 238.

¹⁰ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 20–7.

¹¹ Jordan, 49–54 (chapters 39–47); Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 20–7.

¹² Jordan, 49–50. Chapter 39: “Frater vero Jordanus cum fratribus suis de Moguncia iter veniendi in Thuringiam VI.º kalendas Novembris arripuit et in die sancti Martini Erfordiam a pervenit.” Chapter 40: “Fratres vero qui cum fratre Jordane missi sunt, hii erant . . .” Chapter 41: “Anno domini 1225. frater Jordanus misit fratres laicos per Thuringiam ad explorandum statum civitatum.”

sent to Salzburg,¹³ how he witnessed Albert of Pisa compel Nicholas of the Rhine to accept the custodianship of Saxony (chapter 49),¹⁴ how he sought to have John the Englishman appointed as provincial minister of Saxony (chapters 58 and 60),¹⁵ how he brought relics of Francis to Germany (chapter 59),¹⁶ how he sent John of Penna and Adeodatus to bring back the new provincial minister for Saxony (chapter 60),¹⁷ and how he beseeched the pope to hear the friars' complaints about Elias (chapter 63).¹⁸ However, Jordan delays identifying himself in his account of the 1221 general chapter at Assisi.¹⁹ Instead, he introduces "a certain friar" ("quidam frater") who was afraid of Italian heretics and ferocious Germans.²⁰ It is not until the end of this narrative sequence, in which he was forced by Elias to contemplate joining the 1221 mission to Germany and risking martyrdom at the hands of these "ferocious Germans," that he reveals that this "certain friar" is none other than "Jordan of Giano, who writes this for you" ("Iste est frater Jordanus de Jano, qui hoc vobis scribit").²¹ In a more

¹³ Jordan, 45 (chapter 24); Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

¹⁴ Jordan, 53–4 (chapter 49).

¹⁵ Jordan, 56–8 (chapters 58, 60).

¹⁶ Jordan, 57. Chapter 59: "Frater vero Jordanus in Theutonium rediens venit ad fratrem Thomam de Selano; qui gavisus dedit ei de reliquiis beati Francisci." Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

¹⁷ Jordan, 58. Chapter 60: "Anno domini 1231. frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conduceret in Saxoniam."

¹⁸ Jordan, 59–60. Chapter 63: "Unde ad dominum papam coacti sunt appellare. Ad quem cum frater Jordanus venisset et, ipso salutato, videretur abire, frater Jordanus exire noluit, sed iocunde ad lectum domini pape currens pedem ipsius nudum extraxit et ipsum deosculans exclamavit et socio suo dixit: 'Ecce tales reliquias in Saxonia non habemus.'" Lawrence, *The Friars*, 48.

¹⁹ Jordan, 41–2 (chapters 16–18).

²⁰ Jordan, 40. Chapter 18: "Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumperetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare."

²¹ Jordan, 42. Chapter 18: "Iste est frater Jordanus de Jano, qui hoc vobis scribit, qui tali eventu in Theutonium venit, qui furorem Theutonicorum, quem horruit, evasit, qui ordinem minorum cum fratre Cesario et aliis fratribus primitus

extreme example, Jordan fails to identify himself in a story about a group of friars traveling from Salzburg to Speyer, who were having difficulty acquiring alms by begging in German (chapter 27).²² We can suspect that one of these friars is Jordan because the type and level of detail correspond to many of the other stories in which Jordan relates his experiences. We should also note that all of these accounts are unique to Jordan, since none of them appear in other sources.²³ The isolated nature of his narratives reinforces the likelihood that he did not acquire this information from any texts and that the *Chronica* acts in part as Jordan's "memoir."

We can also place Jordan as a witness to some of the events that he describes either because he informs us that he was in attendance or because his roles as a guardian, custodian, or vicar almost certainly required his presence at these moments. For example, while he mentions that he was present at some events, he does not always portray himself as an active participant, such as when the German provincial minister Caesar of Speyer sent Jordan to Salzburg (chapter 24),²⁴ when Caesar elevated Jordan to the priesthood (chapter 30),²⁵ and when Jordan (as the guardian at Speyer) sang the Mass at the provincial chapter that greeted Provincial Minister Albert of Pisa's arrival in Germany (chapter 33).²⁶ In each of these cases,

in Theutonia plantavit." Hilarin Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, trans. Berchmans Bittle (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1982), 188–9, 342; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45.

²² Jordan, 46 (chapter 27). While it is suggestive, and not conclusive, Jordan mentions in chapter 24 that he was one of the friars stationed in Salzburg.

²³ Boehmer, "Chronica Fratris Iordani a Iano," *AF* 1, lxx.

²⁴ Jordan, 45. Chapter 24: "Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch." Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 189–90.

²⁵ Jordan, 47. Chapter 30: "Eadem anno 15. kalendas aprilis frater Cesarius fecit quantum sacerdotem in ordine promoveri, videlicet fratrem Jordanum de Yane vallis spoletane."

²⁶ Jordan, 48. Chapter 33: "Frater ergo Albertus Pisanus minister secundus Theutonie in Theutonium veniens convocatis senioribus fratribus Theutonie, videlicet fratre Johanne de Plano Carpinis et fratre Thoma vicario et

Jordan mentions his name, either as “friar Jordan” (“frater Jordanus”) or as “friar Jordan of Giano” (“fratrem Jordanum de Yane”), but he portrays others as the primary actors in events with himself serving solely as a passive participant or as an observer.

Moreover, even though he does not suggest his presence in some of his stories, we can argue that he was present in the events narrated in the chapters regarding the friars’ movements through the Alps (chapters 19–22),²⁷ at most of the provincial chapters and ceremonies (chapters 23, 31–4, 51, 53–7, 62, 69, 71–2, 75, 78),²⁸ or at times of mistreatment of the order or its members by such outsiders as the archbishop of Mainz and German emperor Frederick II (chapters 73–4).²⁹ Although he likely witnessed these events, his summarization of what occurred does not require that Jordan announce his presence in these chapters. These two types of chapters, those in which he announces his presence or in which we can argue for it, comprise the great majority of narratives in the *Chronica* for events in 1221 and afterward, thereby telling us that Jordan’s memory serves as his main source of information for chapters 16–78.

However, because of Jordan’s presence in many of these chapters relating to events from 1221 to 1262, many historians accept without question that Jordan was a witness to events that he relates before 1221, though we do not have evidence to support such an assertion.

custode unico et quibusdam aliis celebravit capitulum in nativitate beate Virginis in Spirea extra muros apud leprosos. Ibi tunc temporis guardianus fuit frater Jordanus, qui in eadem capitulo missam solemniter decantavit. In quo capitulo de statu et dilatación ordinis solliciti cogitantes, fratrem Marcium custodem Franconie et fratrem Angelum de Wormacia custodem Bawarie et Swevie et fratrem Jacobum custodem Altsacie et fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis custodem Saxonie statuerunt.”

²⁷ Jordan, 42–4 (chapters 19–22); Zips, “Franziskus von Assisi, vita via,” 15.

²⁸ Jordan, 44–5, 47, 49, 54–7, 59, 61–3 (chapters 23, 31–4, 51, 53–7, 62, 69, 71–2, 75, 78). The primary exception is the provincial chapter of 1221, discussed more fully later in this chapter.

²⁹ Jordan, 62 (chapters 73–4); Schlageter, “Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano,” 13–14; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 179–80.

Much of this argument is based on Nicholas Glassberger's sixteenth-century chronicle, in which he states that Francis personally received Jordan into the order.³⁰ As an example of this acceptance of Glassberger's assertion, Boehmer tries to link Glassberger's statement about Jordan's reception into the Friars Minor with Francis' voyage to Damietta in 1219. According to Boehmer's reading of Glassberger's chronicle, Jordan was already a member of the clerical order when Francis himself received the novice into the Friars Minor. From this, Boehmer contends that Jordan's entrance into the order must have taken place before Francis' voyage to Damietta in the summer of 1219 so that Jordan would have been able to recount all of the details of the order's history;³¹ however, the *Chronica* remains silent on this possibility. Consequently, it is likely that Boehmer does not reason through the possibilities but takes it as given that Jordan entered the order by 1219. Moreover, Boehmer reads the *Chronica*'s chapter 18 as saying that Jordan had met the five friars martyred in Morocco,³² which would indicate that Jordan entered the order before the mission to the Iberian peninsula left Italy; however, the text in the *Chronica* merely states that he could not remember the names of the executed friars,³³ thereby leaving open the question as to whether

³⁰ Glassberger, "Chronica," 54; Boehmer, *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, lvii; Pompilj, *La Cronaca*, 14–15; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 20; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 15; Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 205–6. Since this information only appears in Glassberger's chronicle, it would appear, as Heinrich Boehmer contends, that Glassberger had access to extra text written by Jordan's amanuensis, Baldwin of Brandenburg, possibly in the form of marginalia on the manuscript that he referenced and which is now lost.

³¹ Boehmer, "Chronica Fratris Iordani a Iano," lviii; John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 20; Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 205. Francis arrived in Damietta in either July or August of 1219.

³² Boehmer, "Chronica Fratris Iordani a Iano," lviii. Schlageter contends that it happened in 1219.

³³ Jordan, 40–1. "Qui videns multos fratres surgere paratos ad eundem in Theutonium, estimans eos statim a Theutonicis martirizandos et dolens, *quod fratres missos in Hispaniam et martirizatos nominatenus non noverat*, volens in istis cavere, quod sibi acciderat in illis." The italics are mine. Jordan says that he wanted to learn the names of the men going to Germany in case they, too, were martyred, indeed, that he did not want these men's names to be forgotten as he failed to remember the names of the friars martyred in Morocco.

or not Jordan met the friars who went to the Iberian peninsula and when Jordan entered the order.

Although Glassberger's suggestion that Francis inducted Jordan into the Friars Minor is interesting, the possibility is also entirely moot for any attempt at discerning when Jordan entered the order. For one thing, Glassberger does not clarify when he believed the reception took place. For another, he introduces this information when he recounts the events of the 1230s,³⁴ thereby removing the timing of Jordan's reception into the order from any beneficial context, such as if he had written this biographical information in a section for any of the years from 1217 to 1221. While Boehmer and other historians contend that Jordan entered the order by 1219, the evidence that Jordan himself provides fails to sustain such a view. As far as the *Chronica* is concerned, Jordan does not enter his storyline until 1221 at the General Chapter at Assisi, meaning that we cannot specify an entry before that point in time. Consequently, we cannot claim that Jordan was either a participant in or an eyewitness to events before 1221.

Moreover, Jordan's timeline of the missions to Muslim lands does not correlate with the actual progression of events. In his sequence, Jordan says that Francis learned about the friars having been executed in Morocco in 1219 and, largely as a result of their deaths, he decided to preach to the sultan in Egypt.³⁵ This chronology of events, however, is unsustainable, because we know that Francis arrived in Damietta around August of 1219 and visited the

³⁴ Glassberger, "Chronica," 53–5.

³⁵ Jordan, 36–7.

sultan about a month later, while the five friars did not receive martyrdom until 16 January 1220.³⁶

Although we might most easily attribute the incorrect chronology to Jordan's faulty memory, we might instead ascribe this chronological displacement to his reliance on collective memory. As we have seen, the unconscious manipulation of the chronology of events permits individuals within an organization to furnish the events with formal, psychological, or symbolic meaning.³⁷ In this case, the Friars Minor could have imbued the martyrs' deaths with greater formal meaning by arranging events around the founder's voyage to Damietta. We can detect such a psychological meaning in Jordan's description of reactions to the martyrs' deaths, in which we are told many friars rejoiced in the martyrdoms but Francis counseled the friars to ignore the deaths, advised them to look toward their own individual suffering, and suspended any further missions until 1221.³⁸ These reactions suggest that the friars were conflicted over the deaths, with some friars desiring to venerate the martyrs and other friars wanting to locate sanctity within their own suffering and not in that of the martyrs. In this way, the chronological dislocation permitted the friars to heal the psychological wound caused by the deaths by refocusing their energies back into mission. Additionally, the chronological dislocation permitted Jordan and other friars to locate symbolic meaning in the martyrdoms by using it as the event that spurred Francis to go to Damietta in 1220 to attempt to convert the sultan, which, in turn, resulted in Francis' decision to call for a new mission to Germany in 1221.

³⁶ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 4–7.

³⁷ Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli," 1–2, 11, 15–16, 19–26.

³⁸ Jordan, 36 (chapter 8).

Indeed, Jordan's ability to recount events before 1221 is not necessarily connected to whether or not he witnessed them. For instance, Jordan repeatedly exhibits his willingness, as in many of the chapters 16–78, to place himself in the narrative where he played a part, something that we do not see in the *Chronica* until Jordan enters the narrated action at the General Chapter at Assisi in 1221.³⁹ Of the fifteen chapters that comprise events before this general chapter, we can easily discount chapters 1, 2, 4–7, 9, the latter half of 10, and 12, because Jordan was not a participant in or a witness to them. For example, we can disregard Francis' initial conversion to the religious life in 1207 (chapter 1) and his adoption of public preaching in 1209 (chapter 2)⁴⁰ because Jordan's entrance at such a point would place him among Francis' earliest followers, and no author—not even Thomas of Celano, who knew Jordan—associates Jordan with Francis at this stage. Moreover, if Jordan had been a member of any of the first missions to France, Germany, Hungary, and Spain in 1219 (chapters 4–7),⁴¹ he would most likely have mentioned his presence on such an expedition as he does with respect to the 1221 mission to Germany. Likewise, Jordan's protestation in chapter 18 against joining the 1221 mission, stating that he was afraid of becoming a martyr as a result of the Germans' aggressiveness,⁴² strongly suggests that he did not witness Caesar of Speyer's preaching in Germany or Caesar's conversion by Elias (chapter 9).⁴³ Similarly, Jordan's indications that he had originally never been outside the Spoleto Valley preclude

³⁹ Jordan, 39–42. Chapters 16–18.

⁴⁰ Jordan, 34.

⁴¹ Jordan, 34–6. Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24–5, 28–30; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 208–9; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 26–9.

⁴² Jordan, 40–2; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 189.

⁴³ Jordan, 36; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 189; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 140.

him from participating in the 1219 missions or from observing Francis' meeting with the sultan (the latter half of chapter 10),⁴⁴ or Francis' reaction while in Damietta to the difficulties in Italy (chapter 12).⁴⁵ Consequently, we do not see Jordan situating himself as a witness to or as a participant in any of these events in the way that we see him place himself within many later chapters. Moreover, as a novice entrant to the order, Jordan did not have a position of any importance that would have ensured his presence at these events.

Of the remaining chapters, we can dismiss any chapters that would place Jordan in Francis' presence on a level generally reserved for his companions, since Jordan does not intimate that he had any level of close contact with the founder or his companions. For example, when Jordan could not decide whether to join the 1221 mission to Germany or to go where he had been appointed, Caesar led him to Elias for counsel. Instead of trying to help Jordan, Elias commanded him under holy obedience to make a decision on his own.⁴⁶ Unable to decide, Jordan turned to an unnamed friar from the first Hungarian mission for advice.⁴⁷ As a result of this counsel, Jordan approached Elias again to ask him to resolve Jordan's predicament for him, which Elias did by commanding Jordan under holy obedience to go to Germany with Caesar.⁴⁸ Since this encounter is described in very impersonal terms, we must consider that the two men were effectively strangers to each other. Moreover, at no

⁴⁴ Jordan, 36–7.

⁴⁵ Jordan, 37–8.

⁴⁶ Jordan, 30–42. Chapter 18: "Frater autem Cesarius ipsum secum ducere modis omnibus affectabat. Quam litem frater Helias sic diremit dicens: 'Precipio tibi, frater, per sanctam obedienciam, ut deliberes finaliter an ire velis an dimittere.'" Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 189.

⁴⁷ Jordan, 30–42. Chapter 18: "Et ita inter utrumque perplexus et consilium in semetipso non inveniens accessit ad fratrem multis tribulacionibus probatum qui VI vicibus in Ungaria braccas perdiderat, ut dictum est, et ab eo consilium requisivit."

⁴⁸ Jordan, 30–42. Chapter 18: "Quo audito frater Helias precepit sibi in virtute sancte obediencie, ut cum fratre Cesario in Theutoniam properaret."

point did Jordan approach (such as by asking for advice or help) Francis or any of the founder's other companions, which Jordan might have done if he had had any level of intimacy with these men. In fact, Jordan only mentions Francis and Elias in the chapters on the 1221 general chapter. As a result, Jordan was most likely not present to witness Francis' reaction to news of the martyrs in Morocco (chapter 8),⁴⁹ Francis' decision to go to Damietta (the first half of chapter 10),⁵⁰ Francis' request for a cardinal protector (chapter 14),⁵¹ or Francis' composition of the *Rule of 1221* (chapter 15).⁵² We can also eliminate chapter 8 and the first half of chapter 10 because of the discrepancy in timing mentioned above concerning the deaths of the Moroccan martyrs and Francis' journey to Damietta. For all of these chapters then, we must conclude that Jordan was drawing upon the order's collective memory.

This leaves three chapters as unresolved, chapters that concern when Francis sent out the missions in 1219 (chapter 3), the problems in Italy during Francis' absence (chapter 11), and the account of additional problems in Italy during his absence (chapter 13), all of which prove problematic in supporting the argument that Jordan was a participant or an eyewitness to these events. Chapter 3 is rather short and only contains information (the year ["Anno domini 1219"], the place ["apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula"], and where the friars were sent ["in Franciam, in Theutonium, in Ungariam, in Hispaniam et ad alias provincias

⁴⁹ Jordan, 36; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 209.

⁵⁰ Jordan, 36.

⁵¹ Jordan, 39.

⁵² Jordan, 39; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 230–1.

Italie”)]⁵³ that could have been gleaned from other sources, textual and oral, so there is nothing in it that requires Jordan’s presence at the 1219 chapter in order for him to relate the occasion in such terms. It is noteworthy that Jordan supplies an extensive description of the 1221 general chapter—including the number of friars (“ad tria milia”),⁵⁴ where the friars slept (“sub umbraculis habitabant”),⁵⁵ the abundance of food (“panem et vinum abunde”),⁵⁶ and the friars’ demeanor (“caritas, paciencia, humilitas et obediencia et fraterna iocunditas”)⁵⁷—in chapter 16, but says nothing with the same level of detail about the 1219 general chapter in chapter 3.⁵⁸ This lack of detail would suggest that Jordan did not witness the 1219 chapter but instead acquired the narrative about it from Franciscan collective memory.

While we cannot rule out chapters 11 and 13 as easily as chapters 1–10, 12, 14, and 15, these chapters (which detail problems in Italy during Francis’ evangelical activities in Damietta) do not contain any information that confirms Jordan’s presence as a witness to any

⁵³ Jordan, 34. Chapter 3: “Anno domini 1219. et anno conversionis eius decimo frater Franciscus in capitulo habito apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula misit fratres in Franciam, in Theutonium, in Ungariam, in Hispaniam et ad alias provincias Italie, ad quas fratres non pervenerant.”

⁵⁴ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: “Ad quod capitulum secundum consuetudinem ordinis que tunc erat, tam professi quam novicii convenerunt et estimati sunt fratres, qui convenerant, ad tria milia.”

⁵⁵ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: “Fratres autem cum tot pro fratribus edificia non haberent, in campo spacio et circumsepto sub umbraculis habitabant, comedebant et dormiebant viginti tribus mensis ordinate et distincte et spaciose compositis.”

⁵⁶ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: “[V]iginti tribus mensis ordinate et distincte et spaciose compositis. Ad istud capitulum serviebat populus terre mente promptissima, panem et vinum abunde ministrantes, gavisii super congregatione tantorum fratrum et reditu beati Francisci.”

⁵⁷ Jordan, 39–40. Chapter 16: “Quanta autem tunc temporis inter fratres fuerit caritas, paciencia, humilitas et obediencia et fraterna iocunditas, quis valet explicare?”

⁵⁸ Jordan, 34.

event before 1221. These two chapters, though, prove difficult⁵⁹ because the details regarding attempts to change the order's dietary rules,⁶⁰ to secure papal protection for the Poor Clares,⁶¹ and to create an order similar to the Friars Minor but constituted of lepers⁶² are only found in Jordan. Even though Giles and Bernard of Quintavalle (John of Perugia's sources for his *legendum*)⁶³ and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*⁶⁴—all of whom were Francis' companions—were present in Italy as witnesses at that time, their *legenda* say nothing about the problems in Italy. While this difference does not invalidate any of these texts' account of the events or the possibility of Jordan's membership in the Friars Minor at the 1219 chapter, neither does this disparity confirm Jordan's attendance. If John's *legendum* or the *Legend of the Three Companions* had conveyed a similar narrative to Jordan's, that would be suggestive either of Jordan's presence or of mutual reliance on similar oral traditions. The complete disparity of the stories, however, is more indicative of divergent oral

⁵⁹ Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 20; Auweiler, *The "Chronica Fratris Jordani a Giano,"* 21–2; Pompilj, *La Cronaca*, 14–15, 28; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 17–18; Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 65. Using the same line of reasoning as Boehmer, Hardick asserts that Jordan must have joined the Friars Minor in 1217, since he contends that Jordan was in Italy to witness the problems associated with Francis' absence from the Italian peninsula.

⁶⁰ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: "Et quia secundum primam regulam fratres feria IV. et VI. et per licenciam beati Francisci feria secunda et sabato ieiunabant et omni carnali feria carnes comedebant, isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent. Et insuper statuerunt, ut feriam secundam ieiunarent cum aliis duobus diebus, et ut feria secunda et sabato sibi lacticinia non procurarent, sed ab eis abstinerent, nisi forte a devotis fidelibus offerrentur."

⁶¹ Jordan, 38. Chapter 13: "Nam frater Philippus, qui erat zelator dominarum pauperum, contra voluntatem beati Francisci, qui omnia per humilitatem maluit vincere quam per iudicii potestatem, impetravit litteras a sede apostolica, quibus dominas defenderet et turbatores earum excommunicaret."

⁶² Jordan, 38. Chapter 13: "Similiter et frater Johannes de Capella collecta magna multitudo leprosororum et virorum et mulierum ordini se subtraxit et fundator novi ordinis esse voluit, regulam quandam conscripsit et pro ipsa confirmanda se cum suis sedi apostolice presentavit."

⁶³ Perugia, 461–3.

⁶⁴ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 136–41; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 209–10.

traditions, and Jordan's possible mnemonic errors regarding the timing of the friars martyred in Morocco and Francis' journey to Damietta would further suggest the possibility that Jordan was not a member of the Friars Minor at the time, because he might have more readily remembered that the missions went out across the Alps and Francis went to Egypt before the friars lost their heads in Africa.

In the end, there is nothing in chapters 1–15 that either indicates or requires Jordan's physical presence in order for him to have knowledge of these events. Consequently, we cannot say with any confidence when Jordan entered the Friars Minor except that it had happened by the general chapter of 1221. Moreover, we cannot describe Jordan as a witness to any of the events he relates before 1221, but, instead, we must conclude that Jordan likely received all of these narratives from other individuals who were either witnesses or from an oral tradition that permeated the order and was retained and unconsciously reshaped in the Franciscan collective memory. However, we can argue that Jordan depended largely on his personal memory in order to compose the prologue and chapters 16–25, 27–8, 30, 31–4, 37–47, 49, 51, 54–60, 62–4, 69, 71–5, and 78.

Collective Memory and Eyewitnesses in the *Chronica*

As the section above suggests, even though Jordan relies primarily on his personal memories to compose much of the *Chronica*, he also makes use of collective memory and eyewitnesses. For this reason, it is helpful to ask which chapters exhibit traces of collective memory or eyewitness testimony, who are Jordan's eyewitnesses, and how can we identify the *Chronica's* eyewitnesses. By dividing the chapters between collective memory and eyewitness testimony, we can investigate the different levels of information that Jordan

provides from each of these sources within each chapter. Moreover, tracing those moments when Jordan had contact with each of his eyewitnesses serves to suggest that Jordan remembered these tales from occasional or extended relationships during his life and not as preparation for composing the *Chronica*.

As we have proposed, Jordan drew from collective memory throughout the *Chronica* for events that he did not observe or in which he did not participate, and these chapters indicate the use of collective memory for several reasons. First, Jordan omits any signs to evince his presence, such as mentioning his attendance, situating himself as a character in the action, or providing a level of detail similar to or commensurate with those chapters in which Jordan's involvement in events is manifest. Second, he does not have a reason to attend these events, such as by holding a position within the hierarchy or by being one of Francis' companions. Third, he could not have been present because the events depicted took place in a region outside Italy before 1221. These chapters that display collective memory include Francis' spiritual conversion (chapters 1–3),⁶⁵ the 1219 missions and the Italian intra-fraternal quarrels (chapters 4–15),⁶⁶ events in Italy (such as general chapters) that affected the order in Germany (chapters 29, 48, 50–2, 54–5, 57, 61–3, 65–71, 73–7),⁶⁷ and activities in other parts of Germany that impinged on Jordan's custody (chapter 31).⁶⁸

While we might be tempted to attribute Jordan's account of Francis' conversion to our author's familiarity with Thomas of Celano's and Julian of Speyer's *legenda* and *officia*

⁶⁵ Jordan, 34; Laureilhe, *Sur les routes d'Europe au xiii^e siècle*, 27; Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicle," *MGH SS* 13, 887–8.

⁶⁶ Jordan, 34–9.

⁶⁷ Jordan, 47, 54–6, 58–61; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 174.

⁶⁸ Jordan, 53.

divina, Jordan provides information that is not found in these works. For example, in the first two chapters, Jordan says that the founder took up eremitic clothing in 1207 and then laid it aside in 1209. While Thomas⁶⁹ and Julian⁷⁰ mention how Francis adopted and then rejected the clothing of hermits, they neglect to place these events within a temporal framework. Furthermore, the details in Jordan's narrative in the third chapter, which tells how the founder sent out missions beyond the Alps in 1219 (chapter 3),⁷¹ are completely absent from Thomas' and Julian's works. While Alberic of Trois-Fontaines records events for the year 1207 in his chronicle, he links these to the foundation of the Friars Minor and not specifically to the founder's initial point of conversion.⁷² Since Alberic of Trois-Fontaines' details are otherwise generic information that would have been fairly common knowledge among religious communities, these differences suggest that Jordan likely utilized non-textual sources, or, rather, collective memory as found in oral traditions.

At times, Jordan augments this collective memory with the use of eyewitnesses, such as Caesar of Speyer, John of Penna, an unnamed friar from the Hungarian mission, John of Piano di Carpine, and Hermann of Weissensee. While Johannes Schlageter views the *Chronica* as having been constructed from eyewitness stories that Jordan collected, It seems

⁶⁹ 1 Celano, 18. Book 1, Chapter IX: "Factum est autem, cum iam dictam ecclesiam reparasset, conversionis eius annus tertius agebatur. Quo in tempore quasi eremiticum ferens habitum, accinctus corrigia et baculum manu gestans, calceatis pedibus incedebat."

⁷⁰ Iuliani de Spira, "Officium rhythmicum s. Francisci," 342. Chapter III: "Beatus itaque Franciscus trium, ut dictum est, ecclesiarum opere consummato, habitum adhuc eremiticum tunc temporis habuit, baculumque manu gestans, pedibus calceatis et corrigia cinctus incessit."

⁷¹ Jordan, 34. See Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 74. Bartoli and Marini point out that Jordan's math is incorrect: if Francis converted in 1207, then the tenth year afterward would be 1217 and not 1219.

⁷² Alberic of Trois-Fontaines, "Chronicle," 887–8. "Cepit insuper hoc eodem tempore alius ordo novus in Tuscia apud Assisium per quendam virum religiosum, nomine Franciscum, et isti fratres Minores ob humilitatem et abiectionem corporis appellantur. Habent enim propriam regulam et approbatam a papa Innocentio III, quam beatus Franciscus cooperantibus viris religiosis et peritis edidit, sed et morem legendi et psallendi secundum ritum ecclesie Romane eis instituit. Superiorem habent, quem ministrum generalem appellant."

that in fact Jordan's use of eyewitness testimony in the *Chronica* is limited to five, maybe six, individuals.⁷³ For example, we can readily suppose that Caesar informed Jordan about his preaching acumen and his conversion to the Friars Minor (chapter 9),⁷⁴ Francis' exploits in Damietta (chapters 10 and 12),⁷⁵ Francis' return to Italy (chapter 14),⁷⁶ and Francis' composition of the *Rule of 1221* (chapter 15).⁷⁷ For many of the events related in these chapters, Caesar was a witness to or an active participant in the events described; however, he also serves as a line of transmission between Jordan and someone who was a witness or a participant, including Francis himself. For instance, Caesar is the most plausible source for the story about Caesar's effectiveness as a preacher, his subsequent conversion to the order by Elias, and his help in composing the *Rule of 1221*.⁷⁸ At the same time Caesar is the most probable source for Francis' deliberations with Peter Catania in Damietta regarding the troubles within the order back in Italy. Although Caesar was not a witness to these discussions, Jordan says that Caesar and Elias joined Francis and Peter for the return journey from Damietta to Assisi, thereby supplying a line of transmission from Francis and Peter to Jordan. Furthermore, we know that Jordan and Caesar would have spent some time working together during Caesar's provincial ministry of Germany from 1221 to 1223, and it would have been odd if Caesar had not shared with the friars in Germany any stories about himself and his experiences with Francis.

⁷³ Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 6–7.

⁷⁴ Jordan, 36.

⁷⁵ Jordan, 37.

⁷⁶ Jordan, 38–9.

⁷⁷ Jordan, 36–9. Chapters 9–10, 12, 14–15.

⁷⁸ Jordan, 36; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 189.

How Jordan learned so much information about the 1219 German mission is less obvious, though we can surmise that Jordan's account came from a participant in the mission, John of Penna. Although Jordan names John of Penna as the leader of the 1219 German mission, he does not directly inform us that this friar was the source for this narrative. Instead, he merely notes that Francis sent John of Penna who led 60 friars to Germany.⁷⁹

However, we later encounter John of Penna in chapter 60, where we learn that he returned to Germany before 1231, at which time Jordan sent him to Paris to escort the new provincial minister to Saxony.⁸⁰ This encounter between the two men in 1231 serves as a potential moment when John of Penna related the story about the 1219 German mission first hand to Jordan.

Likewise, we can deduce a similar line of transmission for the story of the mission to Hungary in 1219 in that Jordan shows that he knew a participant in that mission. Although a large group of friars went to Hungary, Jordan singles out one friar, whose name he seems to have forgotten, who told him about having spread oxen dung all over his breeches to prevent the Hungarians from taking the friar's clothing.⁸¹ Later, in his narrative of the 1221 General Chapter, Jordan states that he was officially assigned to go to an unnamed region but was encouraged by Palmerius to join the German mission. Unable to decide which of the two

⁷⁹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "In Theutonium vero missi sunt frater Johannes de Penna cum fratribus fere LX. vel pluribus."

⁸⁰ Jordan, 58. Chapter 60: "Anno domini 1231. frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conduceret in Saxoniam."

⁸¹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat. Et cum pudore et verecundia victus plus de braccis quam de aliis vestibus dolet, ipsas braccas luto boum et aliis immunditiis polluit et sic ipsi pastores super eis nauseam habentes ipsi braccas retinere concesserunt." See Wulf Kansteiner, "Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological critique of Collective Memory Studies," *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 193. Kansteiner asserts that people remember stories much more easily than they do the source of the stories.

paths represented God's will for him, Jordan sought the advice of someone that he trusted at the time. The person to whom Jordan turned for counsel was the unnamed friar on the Hungarian mission who had spread oxen dung on his breeches.⁸² Since Jordan seems to have forgotten the man's name and does not mention him again, we can surmise that Jordan learned about events on the Hungarian mission from this friar while at the 1221 chapter and that the two men never crossed paths again.

Jordan's reliance on eyewitnesses for the Syrian, German, and Hungarian expeditions suggests that Jordan employed a witness to or someone knowledgeable about the 1219 mission to France as well. Although Jordan could have heard about the French mission from individuals in Italy before he left Assisi, he also might have learned his details from one or more individuals who had served in France before going to Germany. For example, John the Englishman was a visitor in Germany in 1229⁸³ before he proceeded to perform this function in France.⁸⁴ In 1231, he returned to Germany as the newly elevated provincial minister for Saxony, as a consequence of Jordan's counsel to the general minister.⁸⁵ Given

⁸² Jordan, 41–2. Chapter 18: “Et ita inter utrumque perplexus et consilium in semetipso non inveniens accessit ad fratrem multis tribulationibus probatum qui VI vicibus in Ungaria braccas perdiderat, ut dictum est, et ab eo consilium requisivit dicens: ‘Frater carissime, sic mihi preceptum est, et eligere timeo et, quid agam, ignoro.’ At ille: ‘Vade ad fratrem Heliam et dic: ‘Frater, nec ire volo nec manere, sed quicquid mihi preceperis, hoc faciam.’ Et ita te ab hac perplexitate liberabis.’ Quod et fecit.”

⁸³ Jordan, 56. Chapter 56: “Anno domini 1229. frater Johannes Anglicus primus visitator in Theutoniā est missus.”

⁸⁴ Jordan, 57. Chapter 58: “Minister autem generalis habita deliberacione, quis expediret, tandem frater Jordanus petivit fratrem Johannem Anglicum, quondam visitatorem Theutonie, et obtinuit. Scripsit ergo minister generalis ministro Francie, ut fratrem Johannem Anglicum mitteret pro ministro Saxonie et fratrem Bartholomeum Anglicum pro lectore.”

⁸⁵ Jordan, 48, 58. Chapter 60: “Anno domini 1231. frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conduceret in Saxoniam.” Chapter 61: “In eadem eciam capitulo frater Johannes Anglicus de Redingis minister Saxonie est absolutus et ei frater Johannes de Plano Carpinis substitutus.” See also chapter 34: “Cum fratre vero Johanne de Plano Carpinis Saxoniam intraverunt frater Johannes et frater Wilhelmus Anglici et frater Egidius lombardus clericus et frater Palmerius sacerdos et frater Reynaldus sacerdos de Spoleto et frater Rodegerus theutonicus laicus et frater Rokkerus laicus et frater Benedictus theutonicus laicus et frater Tichmarus laicus et frater Emanuel de Verona sartor.” Jordan does not specify whether or not John the

Jordan's position as a custodian, we can suppose that Jordan spent sufficient time with John the Englishman during his time as visitator in 1229 and again as provincial minister from 1231 to 1232. In this way, after John the Englishman's return to Germany, Jordan could have heard the story about the French mission from the new minister.

Jordan also supplies several chapters concerning John of Piano di Carpine's work as Custodian of Saxony at a time when Jordan was the Custodian of Thuringia and, therefore, could not directly witness his confrere's activities. These stories include John's appointments and activities as preacher,⁸⁶ as a special envoy,⁸⁷ as a custodian,⁸⁸ or as a provincial minister,⁸⁹ and his defense of the friars from attacks by bishops or princes.⁹⁰ However,

Englishman from Reading who served as visitator to Germany in 1229 and as provincial minister of Saxony from 1230 to 1232 is the same John the Englishman who came to German in 1221 with the original mission. If so, it would explain even more Jordan's respect for John.

⁸⁶ Jordan, 43–4, 48. Chapter 19: "Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum fratribus Johanne de Plano Carpinis, predicatore in latino et lombardico." Chapter 23: "Premisit autem fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Bamabam predicatorum in Herbipolim. Qui inde transierunt in Mogunciam et in Wormaciam et in Spiream et in Argentinam et in Coloniam se hominibus ostendentes et verbum penitencie predicantes et fratribus subsequentibus hospicia preparantes." Chapter 35: "Qui inquam episcopus convocato civitatis sue clero fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis, primum custodem Saxonie, fecit clericorum multitudini predicare. Sermonem vero finito dominus episcopus fratrem Johannem et fratres ordinis sui clero et populo recommendans ipsis et predicandi et confessiones in sua diocesi audiendi auctoritatem dedit."

⁸⁷ Jordan, 43. Chapter 19: Et cum iter arripere disponderet ad Theutonium, vocatis fratribus suis fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Bamabam et aliquosdam alios misit ante faciem suam ad preparandum sibi et fratribus suis locum in Tridentum, aliis fratribus per trinos et quatermos subsequentibus."

⁸⁸ Jordan, 48–9. Chapter 33: "Frater ergo Albertus Pisanus minister secundus Theutonie in Theutonium veniens convocatis senioribus fratribus Theutonie, videlicet fratre Johanne de Plano Carpinis et fratre Thoma vicario et custode unico In quo capitulo de statu et dilatactione ordinis sollicite cogitantes, . . . fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis custodem Saxonie statuerunt." Chapter 34: "Cum fratre vero Johanne de Plano Carpinis Saxoniam intraverunt" Chapter 35: "Qui inquam episcopus convocato civitatis sue clero fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis, primum custodem Saxonie, fecit clericorum multitudini predicare. Sermonem vero finito dominus episcopus fratrem Johannem et fratres ordinis sui clero et populo recommendans ipsis et predicandi et confessiones in sua diocesi audiendi auctoritatem dedit."

⁸⁹ Jordan, 55–6, 61. Chapter 54: "Eodem anno frater Johannes Parens generalis minister audiens quod Theutonia lectorem in theologia non haberet, absolvit fratrem Simonem a ministerio Theutonie et lectorem eum instituit, et fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis in ministrum Theutonie destinavit." and "Frater ergo Iohannes de Plano Carpinis Saxoniam honorare volens et exaltare misit fratrem Simonem primum lectorem in Magdeburg et cum eo viros probos, honestos et litteratos, fratrem Marquardum Longum de Aschenburch et fratrem Marquardum Parvum de Moguncia et fratrem Conradum de Wormacia et plures alios." Chapter 55: "Minister enim factus in Bohemiam,

Jordan's most whimsical story relates that John was sufficiently overweight that he traveled by donkey instead of on foot, which was an activity that reminded the laity of Christ riding a donkey when he entered Jerusalem. These symbolic similarities between John and Christ had such an effect on the laity that the locals demonstrated greater devotion to the donkey than they did to the order's ministers.⁹¹ Since Jordan and John were working as custodians in different parts of Germany,⁹² we can most readily explain these chapters as resulting from the fact that both men reported their custodial movements at provincial chapters and therefore would have heard each other's activities in a formal setting. However, we might also suppose that the two men were friends and that they took an interest in each other's experiences. As for why Jordan includes these stories in the *Chronica*, it is reasonable to suppose first that doing so gives Jordan's narrative breadth in terms of the number of stories about the order's early expansion in Germany, and second that, since John served as provincial minister of Germany and Spain before going on a mission to the Mongols,⁹³ Jordan's audience at the 1262 Provincial Chapter at Halberstadt knew about John and wanted to hear stories about this former provincial minister's time in Germany.

in Ungariam, in Poloniam, in Daciam et Norwegiam fratres misit." Chapter 57: "Anno vero domini 1230. frater Johannes minister Theutonie ultimum provinciale capitulum Theutonie in Colonia celebravit." Chapter 68: "In eodem capitulo frater Johannes de Plano Carpinis minister Saxonie est absolutus et ei frater Conradus de Wormacia substitutus."

⁹⁰ Jordan, 56. Chapter 55: "Domum quoque methensem recepit et ordinem in Lothoringia plantavit. Hic ordinis sui strenuus defensor fuit. Nam coram episcopis et principibus pro ordine suo constanter et personaliter stetit. Hic omnes fratres suos velut mater filios et gallina pullos suos cum pace et caritate et omni consolacione fovebat et regebat."

⁹¹ Jordan, 56. Chapter 55: "Hic vero, quia vir corpulentus erat, asino vehebatur et homines tunc temporis propter ordinis voluntatem et equitis humilitatem maiori devocione ad asinum suum—exemplo Christi asinantis pocius quam equitantis—movebantur quam nunc propter assiduum fratrum versum ad personas ministrorum."

⁹² Jordan, 44, 48–9; Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 13; Zips, *Franziskus von Assisi*, 25–6; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 269–70. Jordan was in Thuringia, while John was in Saxony or in other regions.

⁹³ I. de Rachewiltz, *Papal Envoys to the Great Khans* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1971), 89–111; Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 9–10, 28–31, 42, 45, 47, 51, 60, 67, 75–80, 86, 90–2, 94, 99, 102–6, 109, 134–6, 140, 165, 175, 180–1, 184–5, 188, 191–2, 201, 207.

The only other chapter that stands out as having come from a specific individual concerns Hermann of Weissensee, whom Jordan sent to locate housing for the friars in Thuringia. Unable to go to Eisenach himself to find a place for the friars to live, Jordan—as custodian of Thuringia—sent Hermann to locate and to negotiate suitable housing for the friars in that town. Because Hermann had been a chaplain in Eisenach, two separate groups of clergy remembered him and competed to welcome the friars. Each group offered a church for the friars’ use, and, not wanting to anger either group, Hermann returned to Jordan to allow his superior to make the final decision.⁹⁴ As a result, we can see that Jordan learned this information through his normal activities, such as trying to decide whether or not to join the 1221 mission to Germany or conversations with superiors, colleagues, subordinates in collegial conversations or in the process of carrying out their duties. The evidence suggests that he did not interview these men for the specific purpose of composing the *Chronica*.

Most directly, these eyewitnesses seem to furnish information that was otherwise unavailable to Jordan from collective memory; however, they additionally have the effect of providing for us a greater proximity to the events in these chapters than he could have furnished without these testimonies. Most immediately, the visual imagery available from eyewitnesses diminishes, and sometimes eradicates, the gulf between direct experience and second-hand transmission of an event,⁹⁵ meaning that the level of detail available from secondhand eyewitness accounts is almost commensurate with that available from a firsthand eyewitness testimony. However, testimony does not just give the appearance that we are

⁹⁴ Jordan, 50. Chapter 41: “Unde plebani civitatis timentes, quod si alteri eorum fratres adhererent, alteri populus detraheretur, unus eorum ecclesias duas obtulit fratribus et alter unam, ut quam mallent eligerent ad manendum. Frater autem Hermannus sine consilio fratrum eligere non presumens demandavit fratri Jordano, ut assumpto secum discreto socio veniret Isenacum et eligeret cum consilio, quod placeret. Et veniens cum consilio elegit locum, in quo fratres nunc manent.”

⁹⁵ Kansteiner, “Finding Meaning in Memory”: 191–2.

close to “that which was seen,” since it also serves to make us “witnesses” to what has happened by riveting our attention on the event itself.⁹⁶ Consequently, Jordan’s use of eyewitnesses provides a level of immediacy similar to that which we otherwise only find from his own personal testimony, an immediacy that blurs the distinction between what he might have witnessed and what he did witness. As a result, we suggest here that Jordan drew substantially on collective memory for much or all of chapters 1–3, 7–8, 11, 13, 24, 26, 29, 31, 48, 50–2, 54–5, 57, 61–3, 65–8, 69–71, and 73–8 and relied largely on eyewitness testimony for chapters 4–6, 9, 10, 12, 14–15, 23, 34–6, and 41.

Textual Sources in the *Chronica*

In the *Chronica*’s first chapter, Jordan says that he intends to pass over the *legenda* written about Francis.⁹⁷ Even though we have indicated that Jordan relied primarily on personal memory, collective memory, and eyewitness testimony, it might still be useful to consider the possibility that he borrowed a narrative or two from textual sources. The questions that we should consider are what potential textual sources for the *Chronica* he might have used, which chapters display evidence from such textual sources, and the moment in which Jordan employs information from textual sources. These questions serve to identify those textual sources available to Jordan so as to determine whether or not he was in direct dialogue with them or consulted them during the *Chronica*’s composition. Moreover, these questions will

⁹⁶ Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time,” *History and Theory* 41 (May 2002): 157. Spiegel’s argument regarding testimony is that one is unable simultaneously to provide testimony—to show the event in personal terms—and to furnish critical analysis of the event. However, since Jordan does not attempt analysis of these events, this aspect of Spiegel’s contention is not important for our purposes here.

⁹⁷ Jordan, 34. Chapter 1: “Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declaratur, hic supersedemus.” Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–9, 147–9.

help us to establish the manner in which Jordan utilized the information that he found in textual sources.

Although Jordan references Biblical passages eight times in the *Chronica*, these excerpts underscore particular themes in his text. For example, he draws on Ecclesiastes 3:1 (“All things have their season, and in their times all things pass under heaven.”) and 8:6 (“There is a time and opportunity for every business, and great affliction for man”) to explain why the 1219 missions had failed as well as to suggest why the founder waited until 1221 to attempt another mission.⁹⁸ In his discussion of the dietary changes imposed during Francis’ absence from Italy, Jordan employs Luke 10:8 (“And into what city soever you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you”) to convey that the friars should accept whatever food and drink they were given.⁹⁹ For Francis’ sermon at the 1221 General Chapter, Jordan reports that the founder used Psalm 143:1 (“Blessed be the Lord my God, who teacheth my hands to fight, and my fingers to war”) as the chapter’s theme.¹⁰⁰ When he describes how he begged in Mittenwald, Jordan cites Psalms 9:35 (“Thou seest it, for thou considerest labour and sorrow: that thou mayst deliver them into thy hands. To thee is the poor man left: thou wilt be a helper to the orphan”)¹⁰¹ and John 6:9 (“There is a boy here that

⁹⁸ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: “Et ita tota illa prima missio, quia forte tempus mittendi adhuc non venerat, cum *omnis rei tempus sit sub celo* ad nihilum est deducta.” Eccl. 3:1: “Omnia tempus habent, et suis spatiis transeunt universa sub caelo.” Eccl. 8:6: “Omni negotio tempus est, et opportunitas: et multa hominis afflictio.”

⁹⁹ Jordan, 38. Chapter 12: “Et sic tandem beatus Franciscus intulit: ‘Comedamus ergo secundum ewangelium que nobis apponuntur.’” Luke 10:8: “Et in quamcumque civitatem intraveritis, et susceperint vos, manducate quae apponuntur vobis.” See *Regula non bullata*, 248. “Et liceat eis manducare de omnibus civis, qui apponuntur eis, secundum evangelium.”

¹⁰⁰ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: “In hoc capitulo beatus Franciscus assumpto themate *Benedictus dominus deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prelium* fratribus predicavit et; docens virtutes et monens ad pacienciam et ad exempla mundo demonstranda.” Psalms 143:1: “Benedictus dominus deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prelium.”

¹⁰¹ Jordan, 44. Chapter 21: “Et ecce *deus, cui derelictus est pauper* pauperum suorum sollicitus providit, ut cum opidum intrarent, obviam haberent duos viros hospites, qui ipsis duas denariatas panis emerunt.” Psalm 9:35:

hath five barley loaves, and two fishes; but what are these among so many?”)¹⁰² Finally, Jordan employs II Macc. 15:14 to relate how he felt when the friars in his care surprised him with a mass on his return from a journey to Rome (“Then Onias answering, said: This is a lover of his brethren”).¹⁰³

Of all of the sources for the *Chronica*, the textual sources with which Jordan was in dialogue are somewhat obscure considering that Jordan refers to *legenda*, *officia divina*, statutes, rules, letters, and papal bulls, but he does not seem to engage directly with their contents. For instance, Jordan mentions statutes written by Matthew of Narni and Gregory of Naples during Francis’ absence from Italy,¹⁰⁴ papal letters to protect the Poor Clares,¹⁰⁵ Caesar of Speyer’s help in composing the *Rule of 1221*,¹⁰⁶ a letter written by Caesar in 1222 to the friars installed in Salzburg,¹⁰⁷ the *Rule of 1223* as confirmed in a papal bull by

“Vides, quoniam tu laborem et dolorem consideras, ut tradas eos in manus tuas. Tibi derelictus est pauper; orphano tu eris adiutor.”

¹⁰² Jordan, 44. Chapter 21: “*Sed quid hoc inter tantos?*” John 6:9: “Est puer unus hic qui habet quinque panes hordeaceos et duos pisces: sed haec quid sunt inter tantos?”

¹⁰³ Jordan 57. Chapter 59: “*Hic est fratrum amator.*” II Mach 15:14: “Respondentem vero Oniam dixisse: Hic est fratrum amator, et populi Israel: hic est qui multum orat pro populo, et universa sancta civitate, Jeremias propheta Dei.”

¹⁰⁴ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “Et quia secundum primam regulam fratres feria IV. et VI. et per licenciam beati Francisci feria secunda et sabato ieiunabant et omni carnali feria carnes comedebant, isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent. Et insuper statuerunt, ut feriam secundam ieiunarent cum aliis duobus diebus, et ut feria secunda et sabato sibi lactinia non procurarent, sed ab eis abstinerent, nisi forte a devotis fidelibus offerrentur.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 29–31.

¹⁰⁵ Jordan, 38. Chapter 13: “Nam frater Philippus, qui erat zelator dominarum pauperum, contra voluntatem beati Francisci, qui omnia per humilitatem maluit vincere quam per iudicii potestatem, impetravit litteras a sede apostolica, quibus dominas defenderet et turbatores earum excommunicaret.”

¹⁰⁶ Jordan, 39. Chapter 15: “Et videns beatus Franciscus fratrem Cesarium sacris litteris eruditum commisit sibi, ut regulam, quam ipse simplicibus verbis conceperat, verbis ewangelii adornaret.”

¹⁰⁷ Jordan, 45. Chapter 27: “De hoc capitulo frater Cesarius misit duos cum litteris pro fratribus, qui erant in Saltzburch, qui ad capitulum non venerant, ut si vellent, ad ipsum venirent.”

Honorius III,¹⁰⁸ Elias' letter of consolation in 1226 to the order concerning Francis' death,¹⁰⁹ the complaints written about Elias in 1238,¹¹⁰ and a letter written by Agnes of Prague to the pope.¹¹¹ Of these, the statutes and the papal letters to which Jordan refers in chapters 11 and 13 have not survived and are not mentioned in any other source. Since no other extant sources relate these events and Jordan likely was not a witness to them, we should consider that Jordan heard about such statutes and papal documents from the order's collective memory. Quite often, as we discussed in Chapter 1 as well as above regarding the friars martyred in Morocco, events within collective memory are rearranged or revised so that individuals within an organization can establish a coherent structure that enhances the meaning regarding these events.¹¹² In this case, the references to statutes and papal bulls concerning events in Italy might have been chronologically displaced so as to lend a more symbolic function to these events. In fact, these statutes and papal bulls were emblematic of Francis' distaste for alterations to the Rule of 1223 and for protections given to the order or

¹⁰⁸ Jordan, 47. Chapter 29: "Anno domini 1223. tercio kalendas decembris confirmata est a domino Honoria papa III. regula fratrum minorum."

¹⁰⁹ Jordan, 54. Chapter 50: "Defuncto ergo beato Francisco, frater Helias, vicarius beati Francisci, fratribus turbatis super obitu tanti patris per totum ordinem litteras consolatorias destinavit, denunciando singulis et universis, quod omnibus, sicut ipsi beatus Franciscus preceperat, ex parte beati Francisci benediceret et ab omnibus absolveret culpis, insuper declarans de stigmatibus et aliis miraculis, que post mortem suam ad beatum Franciscum operari dignatus est altissimus, insuper mandans ministris ordinis, ut convenirent ad eligendum generalem ministrum."

¹¹⁰ Jordan, 60. Chapter 64: "Et consedentes factoque inter fratres qui convenerant scrutinio, conscripserunt quecumque poterant scire et probare de facto vel de fama contra Heliam. Quibus coram papa recitatis facte sunt coram papa disputationes de propositis. Quam disputationem dominus papa sic sedavit dicens: 'Ite et disceptate inter vos et obiectiones et responsiones ad obiecta conscribite et mihi presentate, et ego iudicabo.' Quod et factum est."

¹¹¹ Jordan, 61. Chapter 68: "In eodem capitulo frater Johannes de Plano Carpinis minister Saxonie est absolutus et ei frater Conradus de Wormacia substitutus. Qui quia non recepit mandatum, non acceptavit officium. Quod soror Agnes de Praga audiens misit ad papam et sic institutionem fratris Conradi revocavit."

¹¹² Portelli, "The Death of Luigi Trastulli," 1–2, 11, 15–16, 19–26.

its members.¹¹³ As it is, even though the remaining documents have survived, we have no evidence that Jordan consulted these documents during the *Chronica*'s composition but instead related their contents from either personal or collective memory.

Jordan's reliance on the *legenda* and *officia divina* is even more indistinct than that with respect to the textual sources discussed above, since he mentions Thomas of Celano's *legenda* and Julian of Speyer's *officia divina* without naming the texts themselves.

Throughout the *Chronica*, Jordan introduces certain individuals, such as these two authors, when they entered the German province as part of a new general minister's entourage. In this way, Jordan relates in chapter 19 that Thomas followed Caesar of Speyer to Germany in 1221¹¹⁴ and in chapter 53 that Julian arrived with Simon the Englishman in 1227.¹¹⁵ In each case, Jordan tells us that Thomas wrote *legenda* and that Julian produced *officia divina*, but he neglects to name the titles of these works.

Moreover, the rather vague reference to *legenda* at the beginning of the *Chronica* suggests the possibility of other works. In this reference, Jordan states that much has been said about Francis in the *legenda*, and, for this reason, he will omit restating stories that the

¹¹³ Jordan, 37–9. Chapter 12 “Constitutionibus ergo perlectis cum beatus Franciscus esset in mensa et carnes appositae ad manducandum coram se haberet, dixit fratri Petro: ‘Domine Petre, quid faciemus?’ Et ille respondit: ‘Ha, domine Francisce, quod vobis placet, quia potestatem habetis vos.’ . . . Et sic tandem beatus Franciscus intulit: ‘Comedamus ergo secundum ewangelium que nobis apponuntur.’” Chapter 14: “Et ibi causis turbacionum plenius intellectis non ad turbatores, sed ad dominum papam Honorium se contulit. . . . Cum ergo beatus Franciscus domino Hostiensi pape suo causas turbacionis sue retulisset, litteras fratris Philippi in continenti revocavit, et frater Johannes cum suis cum verecundia a curia est repulsus.”

¹¹⁴ Jordan, 42; Schlageter, “Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano,” 11; von Berg, “Jordan von Giano: Chronik,” 960–1; Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 65; Zips, “Franziskus von Assisi, vitae via,” 17. Zips argues that Jordan's references are to both of Thomas of Celano's *legenda* as well as to Julian of Speyer's liturgical work, the *Officium Rhythmicum Sancti Francisci*, which was based on Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*.

¹¹⁵ Jordan, 55. Chapter 53: “Frater ergo Simon, veniens in Theutonium cum fratre Juliano, qui postmodum historiam beati Francisci et beati Anthonii nobili stilo et pulchra melodia composuit, indixit in Coloniam in festo apostolorum Simonis et Iude capitulum provinciale celebrandum.”

friars could find in them.¹¹⁶ As a case in point, Hermann Placid argues that Jordan refers to Bonaventure's *Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*;¹¹⁷ however, this suggestion is untenable since Jordan composed the *Chronica* in 1262, and Bonaventure did not present the completed versions of his works for review and acceptance until the general chapter at Pisa in 1263.¹¹⁸ Considering that the general chapter was required to review Bonaventure's texts before any dissemination, the completion dates for these texts is much too late for Jordan to have had any knowledge of their contents.

By the same token, we must doubt that Jordan ever saw the unofficial Italian *legenda*, though we must consider the possibility that he heard some of the oral traditions that informed and were informed by these texts. Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* was widely disseminated throughout Christendom in the thirteenth century, and it also formed the basis of John of Perugia's *legendum*. However, it is doubtful that Jordan ever saw John's *legendum*, as it only survives in its original manuscript and does not appear to have received any wide distribution.¹¹⁹ Even though the *Legend of the Three Companions* did have a quite wide dissemination, it is likely that Jordan never read any version of it. Although Jordan made two trips to Rome (one in 1230¹²⁰ and the other in 1238¹²¹) both of these trips predate the composition of the unofficial Italian *legenda* (1240–1241 for John of Perugia's *legendum*

¹¹⁶ Jordan, 34. Chapter 1: "Anno domini 1207. Franciscus vir negociator officio compunctus corde, afflatus spiritu sancto in habitu heremitico modum penitencie est aggressus. Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declaratur, hic supersedemus." Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–9, 147–9.

¹¹⁷ Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 20.

¹¹⁸ Armstrong, *FA:ED* 2, 21–2, 503.

¹¹⁹ Lorenzo di Fonzo, "L'Anonimo Perugino tra le fonti francescane del secolo XIII. Rapporti letterari e testo critico," in *MF* 72 (1972): 118; Armstrong, *FA:ED* 2, 31; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–9, 147–9.

¹²⁰ Jordan, 56. Chapter 58.

¹²¹ Jordan, 59–60. Chapters 63–4.

and 1241–1247 for the *Legend of the Three Companions*). Moreover, this text, which was based on John of Perugia's *legendum*, only survives in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscript copies.¹²²

Despite the lack of dissemination for John's *legendum* and the late propagation of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, knowledge of the oral tradition from which they emerged was widespread, since Crescentius of Iesi (d. 1263, m.g. 1244–1247) asked the order's friars to share their memories of Francis for a new official *legendum*. On the basis of Crescentius of Iesi's request, members of the Italian order recorded a growing collection of written stories that formed the basis of three surviving texts: the *Legend of the Three Companions*, elements of Thomas of Celano's *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, and the "We who were with him" texts of the *Assisi Compilation*. While Jordan had access to both of Thomas' official *legenda*, he did not have access to the "We who were with him" texts as they, like the *Legend of the Three Companions*, were not widely disseminated until the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as part of the *Assisi Compilation*.¹²³

When the order's hierarchy decided to have Bonaventure write yet another official *legendum*, one that would replace everything previously written, Bonaventure relied on the works composed by Thomas of Celano and Julian of Speyer. After its approval of the *Legenda maior* and the *Legenda minor* (an *officia divina* to replace Julian of Speyer's work), the General Chapter of 1263 commanded that all previous *legenda* be destroyed, thereby making it difficult for us to determine the extent of any thirteenth-century dissemination of official and unofficial *legenda* other than Bonaventure's. Overall, then, we can see a broad

¹²² Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–9, 147–9.

¹²³ Bigaroni, "Compilatio Assisiensis" dagli Scritti di fra Leone e Compagni, xxxi–xxxiv; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 251; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 26–35; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 102–34, 138–9, 143, 146–9.

distribution of the official *legenda* during the early and middle thirteenth century, but also some general knowledge of an oral tradition that is reflected in the unofficial *legenda*.

Since we cannot be certain about the thirteenth-century circulation of the unofficial *legenda*, we must doubt that Jordan was exposed to these works. Jordan could not have come into contact with the unofficial *legenda* on any of his trips to Rome, because his last journey to Italy took place in 1238, when he tried to convince the pope to remove Elias from his position as general minister,¹²⁴ and John of Perugia did not begin to write his work until 1240. Therefore, Jordan could only have learned about shared narratives similar to those that were included in the unofficial Italian *legenda* if they had received some limited distribution that has since been obscured or if he had come into contact with their narratives through an oral tradition either during his trips to Italy or from friars coming from Italy. However, even though Jordan may not have drawn directly from any of the unofficial *legenda*, he does appear, as we shall see in following chapters, to be in conversation with these authors or, rather, with an oral traditions that are reflected in the unofficial *legenda*.

The only story that Jordan relates in the *Chronica* that bears close similarities to a textual narrative is the tale of Francis' encounter with the sultan as related in Thomas' *Life of Saint Francis*. Both narratives recount how the sultan's soldiers manhandled Francis before conducting him to the sultan's court, where Francis' mellifluous words allegedly tempted the members of the court to abandon Islam for Christianity. Thomas conveys in as few words as possible that the sultan's soldiers insulted ("contumeliis affectus") and beat ("atritus verberibus") Francis and that he passively accepted their abuse ("comminatis suppliciis non

¹²⁴ Jordan, 59–60. Chapter 63: "Anno domini 1238. fratres Saxonie contra visitatorem appellantes ad generalem ministrum missis nunciis ad ipsum nihil profecerunt omnino. Unde ad dominum papam coacti sunt appellare. Ad quem cum frater Jordanus venisset et, ipso salutato, videretur abire, frater Jordanus exire noluit."

veretur”); however, Thomas does not relate how the founder convinced his captors to take him to the sultan’s court.¹²⁵ In contrast, Jordan imbues the story with his own narrative voice by emphasizing that the outrages the founder experienced consisted of many physical blows (“multis iniuriis”). Moreover, as Francis received this violence, Jordan relates how the founder did not understand his attackers’ language (“linguam ipsorum ignorans”), but he attempted to communicate by yelling repeatedly the one word that he thought they might understand: “Sultan! Sultan!”¹²⁶ In this way, Jordan stresses that Francis did not merely cross a political and military boundary but that he bridged the more important linguistic barrier that separated the friar from the sultan. As a result, since the two stories only bear the structural similarity of Francis being beaten and insulted before seeing the sultan and do not share specific details regarding the processes of how Francis was beaten or how he convinced the soldiers to take him to the sultan, we must suppose that Jordan imparted his memory of Thomas’ story—likely augmenting it with other versions that he had heard through collective memory over the years—without revisiting Thomas’ text at the time of the *Chronica*’s composition.

¹²⁵ 1 Celano 43–4. Book 1, Chapter XX: “Sed nondum valet quiescere, quin beatum impetum animi sui adhuc ferventius exsequatur. Nam tertio decimo anno conversionis suae ad partes Syriae pergens, cum quotidie bella inter christianos et paganos fortia et dura ingruerent, assumpto secum socio, conspectibus Soldani Saracenorum se non timuit praesentare. — Sed quis enarrare sufficiat, quanta eorum eo mentis constantia consistebat, quanta illi virtute animi loquebatur, quanta facundia et fiducia legi christianae insultantibus respondebat? Nam primo quam ad Soldanum accederet, captus a complicitibus, contumeliis affectus, attritus verberibus non terretur, comminatis suppliciis non veretur, morte intentata non expavescit. Et quidem licet a multis satis hostili animo et mente aversa exprobratus fuisset, a Soldano tamen honorifice plurimum est susceptus. Honorabat eum prout poterat, et oblatiis muneribus multis, ad divitas mundi animum eius inflectere conabatur: sed cum vidisset eum strenuissime omnia velut *stercora* contemnentem, admiratione maxima repletus est et quasi virum omnibus *dissimilem* intuebatur eum; permotus est valde verbis eius *et eum libentissime audiebat*.”

¹²⁶ Jordan, 36–7. Chapter 10: “[V]idelicet anno conversionis XIII., ad certa maris pericula transiens ad infideles se ad soldanum contulit. Sed antequam perveniret ad ipsum, multis iniuriis et contumeliis est affectus et linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat. ‘Soldan, soldan.’ Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus. Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disponderet, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus.”

As we can see, Jordan relies on personal and collective memories as well as on oral stories from select individuals. His general neglect of written sources indicates that Jordan either could not or did not want to refer to texts during the *Chronica*'s composition. Instead, the importance of his information lies in how he uses narratives formed in personal and collective memory to frame the events that he described. The significance of this argument is that Jordan's use of memory intensifies the likelihood that any issues that he broached would be ones that were on the minds of the friars at the time of the *Chronica*'s composition and that in turn these issues pertained to Franciscan attempts to define and to refine the order's identity. Moreover, Jordan's reliance on collective memory and eyewitness testimony for events in chapters 1–15 suggests that he likely did not join the Friars Minor until sometime in 1220 or 1221. We must therefore temper our perceptions of Jordan's reliability for these events. Instead of looking at the "historiocity" of these chapters, it is a more fruitful approach to explore Jordan's conceptions of events before 1221 in conjunction with the manner in which the Italian *legenda* portray them.

The 1219 Missions to France, Germany, and Hungary

In this section, we examine the extent to which Jordan used Francis and the trans-Alpine missions to assert that mission was an important aspect of the friars' vocation and path to salvation, and, for this reason, why he provides much more information than the Italian *legenda* about the 1219 missions to France, Germany, and Hungary. The similarity of the narrative structures of the accounts of the 1219 missions between the Italian *legenda* and Jordan's *Chronica* suggests that their respective authors drew on the same reservoir of collective memories and that Jordan by extension was in dialogue with the oral traditions that

underpinned those memories.

Of the *legenda* written in Italy during the early thirteenth century, Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* ignores the 1219 missions despite his participation in the 1221 mission to Germany, and it is John of Perugia who introduces the subject, which the *Legend of the Three Companions* repeats with a few augmentations. Although John's *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* intimate that Francis sent out missions to several lands beyond the Alps, the authors only name Germany and Hungary, suggesting that these regions suffered the most problems with locals and therefore were the most prominent in the authors' memories. The story that follows informs us that the missions left Italy and that authorities in some provinces merely prevented the friars from building houses until these officials could confirm the friars' orthodoxy with the papacy. Meanwhile the clerics and laity in other trans-Alpine regions, also uncertain about the friars' orthodoxy, beat or threatened the friars, including letting thieves strip them of their clothing. Eventually, local people expelled the friars from their lands, and the ill-treated friars returned to Assisi demoralized and bitter. While John only mentions how the friars suffered trials,¹²⁷ the *Legend of the Three Companions* declares that the friars were persecuted and afflicted.¹²⁸ The significance of these stories is that the *legenda* use the 1219 missions to explain why Francis asked Pope

¹²⁷ Perugia, 461–2. “A quibusdam vero expellebantur, quia timebant ne fratres non essent Christiani fideles, quia adhuc non habebant fratres confirmatam a Papa Regulam, sed concessam. Et propterea multas tribulationes passi a clericis et laicis, et a latronibus spoliati, reversi sunt ad beatum Franciscum, angustiati plurimum et afflicti. Et hae tribulationes eis factae fuerunt in Hungaria et Alamania et aliis provinciis ultramontanis.” Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 203–4.

¹²⁸ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 136–7. “Qui recipiebantur in quibusdam provinciis sed non mittebantur habitacula construere, de quibusdam vero expellebantur ne forte essent homines infideles, quia licet praefatus dominus Innocentius tertius ordinem et regulam approbasset ipsorum, non tamen hoc suis litteris confirmavit, et propterea fratres a clericis et laicis tribulationes plurimas sunt perpassi. Unde ex hoc compulsi sunt fratres fugere de diversis provinciis, atque sic angustiati et afflicti necnon a latronibus exspoliati et verberati, ad beatum Franciscum cum magna amaritudine sunt reversi. Hoc enim passi erant quasi in omnibus ultramontanis partibus ut in Alemania, Ungaria et pluribus aliis.” Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 203–4.

Honorius to appoint Hugolino as the order's official cardinal protector. Since the friars needed protection from misunderstandings, according to these *legenda*, the founder asked the cardinal protector to write letters to confirm the friars' orthodoxy for future missions beyond the Alps.¹²⁹

The "We who were with him" texts also mention the trans-Alpine missions, though the author of the relevant section is vague on details, except to posit two purposes for the order—to exhibit proper adoration of the host and to extend Christian salvation to believers and nonbelievers wherever they might be. For the author, the friars' destinations were not as important as the founder's respect for the Eucharist and his desire to have the friars carry pyxes throughout Christendom or irons for baking hosts.¹³⁰ The author also relates that Francis could not abide remaining in Assisi when he had sent other men so far from their native lands, and, as a result, he decided to go on mission as well, intending to go to France. However, Francis only made it as far as Florence, where Cardinal Hugolino prevented him from going any further by arguing that members of the papal curia would use Francis' absence from Italy to obstruct the order's interests.¹³¹ When Hugolino admonished the

¹²⁹ Perugia, 463. "Post hoc, habito domini Papae mandato, extendens manum suam ad protegendum fratres Dominus Ostiensis misit multis Praelatis litteras apud quos fratres tribulationes passi fuerant, ut non essent fratribus contrarii, sed potius ad praedicandum et habitandum in suis provinciis consilium et auxilium eis darent, tamquam bonis et religiosis viris ab Ecclesia approbatis. Et plures ex aliis Cardinalibus miserunt litteras suas similiter ad hoc idem." *Legenda trium sociorum*, 139–41. "Qui, habito domini papae mandato, sicut bonus protector ad defendendum fratres manum extendit, scribens multis praelatis qui persecutions intulerant fratribus ne ulterius essent eis contrarii, sed potius ad praedicandum et habitandum in suis provinciis consilium et auxilium eis darent, tamquam bonis et sanctis religiosis, auctoritate Sedis apostolicae approbatis. Similiter et alii quamplures cardinales ad idem suas litteras transmiserunt."

¹³⁰ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 332–4. "Imo quodam tempore voluit mittere quosdam fratres cum pixidibus per universas provincias, et ubicumque invenirent corpus Christi illicite collocatum, illud honorifice in ipsis collocarent," and "Quosdam etiam alios fratres per universas provincias mittere voluit cum bonis et pulchris ferramentis hostiarum ad faciendum hostias."

¹³¹ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 338. "Cumque pervenisset beatus Franciscus Florentia[m] invenit ibi dominum Hugonem, episcopum Hostiensem, qui postea fuit papa, qui missus fuerat a papa Honorio in legationem per Ducatum et Tusciam et Lombardiam et Marchiam Trivisanam usque Venetias. De cuius adventu valde gavisus est dominus episcopus. Ut autem audivi a beato Francisco quod volebat ire in Frantiam, prohibuit sibi ut non iret."

founder for sending the friars where they might die of hunger or suffer persecution.¹³²

Francis parried that God sent the friars not just for the salvation of the people in these regions but to save the souls of everyone—believers and nonbelievers—throughout the world.¹³³

Unlike the Italian *legenda*, which position the story of the trans-Alpine missions as just one event within a larger narrative, Jordan employs these expeditions as the dominant organizational theme for the *Chronica*. As mentioned above, Jordan begins his narrative construction with three brief chapters featuring key points in Francis' conversion. Jordan's purpose for these vignettes is not to describe the beginning of the order per se but to outline Francis' reasoning for sending missions out beyond the Alps and his commitment to these expeditions. These three chapters display an evolution in the founder's conception of the order, beginning with eremitism, changing to preaching around Assisi, and ending with mission beyond the Italian borders in 1219, at which time Francis dispersed friars to France, Germany, Hungary, Spain, Syria, and unnamed parts of Italy.¹³⁴ Having laid out the notion of mission as the culmination of Francis' spiritual evolution, Jordan shifts his focus from the founder to Franciscan mission itself, using chapters 3–15 to recount the problems

¹³² *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 338. "Dixit autem ad eum beatus Franciscus: 'Domine, magna verecundia est michi, cum miserim fratres meos ad remotas et longinquas provintias, me autem permanere in istis provintiis.' Dixit autem ad eum dominus episcopus quasi ipsum redarguendo: 'Cur misisti fratres tuos tam longe ad moriendum fame et ad tantas alias tribulationes?'"

¹³³ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 338. "Respondit ei beatus Franciscus cum magno fervore spiritus et spiritu prophetie: 'Domine putatis vel creditis quod Dominus solummodo propter istas provintias misit fratres? Set dico vobis in veritate, quod Dominus elegit et misit fratres propter profectum et salutem animarum omnium hominum totius mundi, et non solum recipientur in terra fidelium, set etiam infidelium. Et dummodo observent que Domino promiserunt, sic Dominus ministrabit eis necessaria in terra infidelium sicut et in terra fidelium.'"

¹³⁴ Jordan, 34–9. Chapter 3: "Anno domini 1219. et anno conversionis eius decimo frater Franciscus in capitulo habito apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula misit fratres in Franciam, in Theutoniam, in Ungariam, in Hispaniam et ad alias provincias Italie, ad quas fratres non pervenerant." Chapter 4: "Fratres vero, qui in Franciam venerunt," Chapter 5: "In Theutoniam vero missi sunt" Chapter 6: "Fratres vero in Ungariam missi" Chapter 7: "De fratribus vero, qui in Hispaniam transierunt," Chapter 9: "Frater autem Helias minister provincialis est institutus ultra mare" Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 199–202; Kajetan Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, trans. Aedan Daly and Irina Lynch (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press, 1970), 13.

experienced with the 1219 missions and chapters 16–78 to elucidate the long-term success of the 1221 mission to Germany.

When we come to the trans-Alpine missions in the *Chronica*, Jordan's reports agree in general with those of John's *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions*, though he is more expansive in what he shares. For instance, we learn from Jordan that the French suspected the friars of being Albigensian heretics, but that a bishop and some university masters were sufficiently appeased by the friars' *Rule* that the French authorities permitted the Franciscans to stay, pending official confirmation by the papacy of the friars' orthodoxy.¹³⁵ However, the earliest papal letter that confirms the Franciscans as orthodox representatives of the Church did not appear until 29 May 1220.¹³⁶ In this way, the rather vague description of events "in some provinces" in John's *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* accords in general with the events in France as depicted in Jordan's account.

Jordan's narratives of the German and Hungarian missions also agree in general terms with John's *legendum* and with the *Legend of the Three Companions* while providing more information about the problems that the friars experienced on these journeys. According to Jordan, John of Penna led at least 60 friars on the 1219 mission to Germany, all of whom

¹³⁵ Jordan, 34–5. Chapter 4: "Fratres vero, qui in Franciam venerunt, interrogati, si essent Ambigenses, responderunt quod sic, non intelligentes quid essent Ambigenses, nescientes tales esse hereticos, et sic quasi heretici sunt reputati. Episcopus vero et magistri tandem eorum regulam perlegentes et ewangelicam et catholicam videntes super hoc dominum papam Honorium consuluerunt, qui eorum regulam autenticam utpote a sede firmatam et fratres speciales filios romane ecclesie et vere catholicos suis litteris declaravit et sic eos a suspitione heresis liberavit." Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 22; John Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 6–7; Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 204–5.

¹³⁶ Honorius III, "Pro dilectis filiis," in *BF*, 5–6. "Unde Universitati vestrae volumus esse notum, quod Nos Ordinem talium de approbatis habemus; et Fratres Ordinis ipsius viros recognoscimus catholicos, et devotos. Quare monendos vos duximus, et hortandos per apostolica scripta praecipiendo mandantes; quatenus ipsos tamquam vere fideles, et religiosos in vestris Dioecesisibus admittatis, habentes eosdem pro divina, et nostra. reverentia propensius commendatos." Landini, *Clericalization*, 57.

were unacquainted with the German language.¹³⁷ Since the local population could not communicate with these strangers from south of the Alps, the Germans thought the friars were heretics who had travelled north to lead the good German Christians astray with heterodox ideas. Wishing to protect their faith, the Germans chased the friars back to Italy.¹³⁸ In Hungary, the locals acted aggressively from the start, either making threatening gestures with their staves or goading their dogs to attack the friars.¹³⁹ The friars believed that the Hungarians were hostile because they wanted the friars' tunics. When giving away their tunics failed to mollify the Hungarians, the friars also handed over their breeches, thereby leaving themselves naked and fully defenseless.¹⁴⁰ Although the friars were able to acquire new tunics and breeches through begging, other groups of Hungarians menaced the friars in a similar manner, thereby prompting the friars to surrender their clothing multiple times. Indeed, we are told one friar gave up his breeches fifteen times so as to protect himself and eventually decided to spread oxen dung all over his last pair of breeches so that the

¹³⁷ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "In Theutonium vero missi sunt frater Johannes de Penna cum fratribus fere LX. vel pluribus. Hii cum partes Theutonie introissent et linguam ignorantes interrogati, si vellent hospitari, comedere vel huiusmodi, responderunt 'Ja' et sic a quibusdam benigne sunt recepti. Et videntes quod per hoc verbum 'ia' humane tractarentur, ad quolibet interrogata 'ia' debere respondere decreverunt." Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 202–3; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 18.

¹³⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutonium inficerent, sicut et Lombardiam pervertissent, et respondissent 'ia,' quidam ex ipsis plagati, quidam incarcerati et quidam denudati nudi ad choream sunt ducti et spectaculum ludicre hominibus sunt effecti. Videntes ergo fratres, quod fructum in Theutonia facere non possent, in Italiam sunt reversi. Ex quo facto Theutonia a fratribus tam crudelis est reputata, ut ad ipsam nisi desiderio martirii inspirati redire non auderent." Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 202–3; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 18.

¹³⁹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "Fratres vero in Ungariam missi per quendam episcopum Ungarie per mare in Ungariam sunt conducti et, cum divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspide sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt."

¹⁴⁰ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "Et cum inter se fratres conquirerent, quare sic mactarentur, dixit unus: 'Forte quia tunicas nostras superiores habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, nec sic a verberibus destiterunt. Et adiecit: 'Forte etiam et tunicas nostras inferiores habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, nec sic percutere desierunt. Et dixit: 'Forte et braccas nostras habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, a verberibus destiterunt et nudos abire permiserunt." Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 203; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 18.

Hungarians would refuse to take his clothing.¹⁴¹ Once more, we see general agreement between John's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the *Chronica*, since all three convey the theme of mistrust by the laity that resulted in violence committed by locals on the friars, and the belief that these conflicts led to the failure of these missions.

Consequently, from the thematic and substantive similarity of the overall narratives, we can argue that the Italian *legenda* and Jordan's *Chronica* derive from the same pool of collective memory regarding the 1219 missions, though Jordan's transmission of it is more informative. The unevenness of the reportage of the trans-Alpine missions across these texts indicates a difference in the relevance of these missions to the purposes of each of the authors and, possibly, to their disparate access to participants of these missions. Since Jordan was active in the order's hierarchy—and personally invested in the concept of Franciscan mission—he was more likely to have come into contact with participants of the 1219 missions or individuals who knew something of their history, and to take an interest in their stories. Moreover, while the Italian *legenda* treat Francis and Italy around Assisi as the geographical heart of the order and simplicity (as evinced through poverty and humility) as its orthopraxic soul, Jordan's *Chronica* employs the 1219 missions to assert that evangelism to the laity throughout Christendom was a no-less vital aspect of the order's operation.

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been argued that, with the exception of Thomas' narrative of Francis in

¹⁴¹ Jordan, 35, 42. Chapter 6: "Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat. Et cum pudore et verecundia victus plus de braccis quam de aliis vestibus doleret, ipsas braccas luto boum et aliis immunditiis polluit et sic ipsi pastores super eis nauseam habentes ipsi braccas retinere concesserunt. Hiis et aliis pluribus contumeliis affecti in Italiam sunt reversi." Manselli, *St. Francis of Assisi*, 203; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 18. In chapter 18, Jordan reports that this unnamed friar only lost his breeches six times. Chapter 18: "Et ita inter utrumque perplexus et consilium in semetipso non inueniens accessit ad fratrem multis tribulacionibus probatuin qui VI vicibus in Ungaria braccas perdiderat . . ."

Damietta, Jordan drew exclusively from personal or collective memory and eyewitness testimony in order to assert that mission was an important aspect of the Franciscan order's vocation and route to salvation. Moreover, because Jordan relies on his memory for most of the events in 1221 and after, historians have assumed that Jordan must have recalled from personal memory those events that took place before 1221; however, these chapters do not contain any information indicating or requiring his presence.

This argument has implications regarding our knowledge of Jordan's entry into the order, the distribution of collective memory throughout the order in Europe, and the friars' explorations of Franciscan identity. Since Jordan cannot be directly linked as a witness to events in chapters 1–15, it is difficult to consider his testimony regarding these events as historically accurate, with the possible exception of those events in which Jordan supplies second-hand eyewitness testimony. In this way, Jordan's accounts of occurrences on the French, German, and Hungarian missions carry far stronger weight than do his portrayals of incidents in Italy. Furthermore, the evidence indicates that he acquired these stories by chance throughout his lifetime and not as part of a concerted effort to gather information for the *Chronica's* composition. For example, Jordan likely heard the unnamed Hungarian's story while they were at the General Chapter at Assisi in 1221 and John of Penna's tale when the two men met in 1231. Additionally, it can be supposed that Jordan heard Caesar of Speyer's, John of Piano di Carpine's, and Hermann of Weissensee's narratives as he served with these men in the German province.

Generally speaking, though, Jordan's narrative relies on personal memory and collective memory. His use of collective memory speaks to the sharing of memories by the friars about the people and events that made up their history and their stories regarding who they were as

a community. These issues were part of the communal discourse for the Friars Minor in several regions of—if not throughout—Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century. Even though the friars’ movements were largely restricted to a given province and the unofficial *legenda* received limited or no distribution, the ideas and sentiments as expressed by these texts nonetheless were preserved in the friars’ collective memory and travelled across provincial boundaries in the form of oral tradition.

Moreover, the friars’ discussions regarding Franciscan mission exhibit the friars’ search for identity using such topics as mission, the role of the cardinal protector, and obedience that received less attention in the written sources than the question of poverty, humility, and possession of material objects but which were nonetheless significant in the friars’ search for “self.” For example, the Italian *legenda* emphasize Francis’ dedication to poverty and humility so as to argue that these were the most important paths to salvation. Indeed, Thomas of Celano asserts in the *Life of Saint Francis* that the founder’s simplicity played a significant part in his reception of the stigmata.¹⁴² Although Jordan does not discount the importance of these symbols of sanctity in the equivalent sections of the *Chronica*, he instead draws his audience’s attention squarely onto Franciscan mission, an aspect of Francis’ desires for the order that the Italian authors mention only in passing or omit entirely. For instance, the general sense in John of Perguia’s *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* is an

¹⁴² 1 Celano, 44, 67–74. Book 1, Chapter XX: “In omnibus his Dominus ipsius *desiderium non implevit*, praerogativam illi reservans gratiae singularis.” Book 2, Chapter I: “Apostolorum vitam et *vestigia sequens*, egressus de carnis ergastulo.” Book 2, Chapter I: “*Datus est spiritus novus in cordibus* electorum *et in medio* eorum *effusa est* unctio salutaris.” Book 2, Chapter I: “*Sacramentum hoc magnum est* et praerogativae dilectionis indicat maiestatem; sed arcanum in eo latet consilium et reverendum contegitur mysterium, quod soli Deo cognitum credimus, et per ipsum sanctum ex parte cuidam revelatum.” Book 2, Chapter II: “. . . divinam familiaritatem modo ineffabili fuisset adeptus . . .” Book 2, Chapter II: “Paratus erat homo, *spiritum Dei* habens, omnes animi pati angustias, omnesque passiones corporis tolerare, si tandem *optio* sibi *daretur*, ut *voluntas Patris caelestis* misericorditer *compleretur* in eo.” Book 2, Chapter II: “Factum est autem, *cum aperuisset librum*, occurrit sibi primo passio Domini nostri Iesu Christi, et id solum quod tribulationem eum passurum denuntiabat.” Book 2, Chapter III: “Cumque liquido ex ea intellectu aliquid non perciperet et multum eius cordi visionis huius novitas insideret, coeperunt in manibus eius et pedibus apparere signa clavorum, quemadmodum paulo ante virum supra se viderat crucifixum.”

acknowledgement that Francis wanted to establish the Friars Minor outside Italy, but their overall narratives direct our attention toward Italy where Francis first exhibited his conceptions about the Franciscan paths to salvation for the order. Furthermore, the Italian *legenda* suggest that Francis' ideas of orthodoxy and orthopraxy could be found in the founder's companions, who (according to these texts) more faithfully emulated Francis than did later followers, and—according to the “We who were with him” texts—in the Portiuncula, which served as a sanctuary of orthopraxy where chosen friars modeled orthodox behaviors for the rest of the order to mimic.¹⁴³ One can well understand this concentration on Italy, then, considering that the Portiuncula and most of Francis' companions—particularly those who advocated simplicity—concentrated their movements in and around Assisi.

Jordan, on the other hand, spends very little time on Italy and instead focuses our attention on Germany, one of the destination points for the expeditions. In the process, he responds to a couple of different questions: “Why did Francis invest so much time and effort in sending friars further and further away from Assisi?” and “Why did the Friars Minor, who were almost entirely an Italian order, take their message of salvation to non-Italians?” In his response to these questions, Jordan explores the founder's religious evolution to focus on Franciscan mission, his persistence in sending out expeditions until they succeeded, and his participation in the mission to Damietta. Jordan also underscores the importance of preaching within Franciscan mission, much like the “We who were with him” texts do, to argue that the

¹⁴³ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 138–40. “Qui statim fecit vocari ministrum dicens illi: ‘Frater, iste locus est forma et exemplum totius religionis; unde magis volo quod fratres istius loci sustineant tribulationes et necessitates amore Domini Dei, ut fratres totius religionis qui huc veniunt reportent bonum exemplum paupertis in locus suis, quam si haberent suas satisfactiones et consolationes, et alii fratres de religione sumerent exemplum edificandi in locus suis dicentes: In loco Sancte Marie de Portiuncula, qui est primus locus fratrum, tali et tanta hedificia hedificantur, bene possumus hedificare in locis nostris, quia non habemus aptum locum ad manendum.’”

friars were supposed to take the message of salvation to Christians and Muslims alike.

CHAPTER 4: EARLY THIRTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCISCAN MARTYRDOM: TEMPORAL OR SPIRITUAL INTERPRETATIONS

In the *Chronica*, Jordan mentions how five friars were martyred in Morocco in 1219 and how the Franciscans in Italy wanted to venerate these martyrs, an impulse that Francis discouraged.¹ Moreover, Jordan shares his own fears of being killed by Germans if he joined the mission to Germany in 1221.² In these episodes, Jordan expresses differing attitudes that the friars in the early thirteenth century had regarding the concept of martyrdom, ranging from veneration of those who had died for their faith to apprehension of sharing their fates. Since the order's discourses about martyrdom consisted of several contrary viewpoints, this topic provides a way to investigate the manner in which Jordan employed martyrdom as a key point of Franciscan identity.

While Chapters 4 and 5 both grapple with Franciscan ideas of martyrdom and mission, they approach the topic in different ways. This chapter considers whether the thirteenth-century Friars Minor thought about martyrdom either in terms of temporality (as in whether the friars sought martyrdom as a death earned by confronting nonbelievers—particularly Muslims) or in terms of spirituality (such as through a confrontation with demons over the strength of the friar's faith). The difference between these views can inform us about the Franciscans' views as to where they thought evil should be encountered and what this confrontation meant for the order. By contrast, Chapter 5 examines how the friars' ideas

¹ Jordan, 35, 36.

² Jordan, 36, 43.

regarding Franciscan submission and humility and their style of preaching affected the manner in which the Friars Minor in the early thirteenth century exhorted people to come to the Christian faith: through conflict with nonbelievers over the falsity of their doctrines or through explanations of the veracity of the Catholic faith.

As we will explore further later, Jordan closely associates martyrdom with mission, since he relates how the friars who went on the 1219 missions to Spain, France, Germany, and Hungary were detained, persecuted, or killed as a result of their efforts to travel to distant lands so as to proselytize the local people. Although Jordan provides some information about the Franciscans who were harassed in France, Germany, and Hungary,³ he says almost nothing about the five friars who traveled to Spain and who were martyred in Morocco.⁴ Not much is known about these five friars beyond the information that Jordan provides, because other thirteenth-century sources say little more than that they died in Morocco while preaching the Christian faith.⁵ However, Arnold of Sarrant's (d. after 1374) late fourteenth-century *Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals* (1369–1374) states that Francis encouraged them to seek martyrdom, that the friars repeatedly denounced Muhammad and Islamic law in front of crowds of Muslims, and that the Muslim authorities imprisoned and then beheaded the friars.⁶

³ Jordan, 35 (chapters 4–6); Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 209–10; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24–5, 28–30.

⁴ Jordan, 34, 36 (3–7); Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 34–5.

⁵ Jordan, 34, 36 (3–7); *Dicta Beati Aegidii Assisiensis* (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1905), 75; León de Kerval, ed., *Sancti Antonii de Padua vitae duae quarum altera hucusque*, Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen âge, vol. 5 (Paris: Fischbacher, 1904), 2, 28–31; Fidentius of Padua, "Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte," in *Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, vol. 2 (Quaracchi: Typographia Collegii Sancti Bonaventurae, 1913), 23.

⁶ *Passio sanctorum*, 579–94.

The central question with which we are concerned in this chapter is whether thirteenth-century Franciscans conceived of martyrdom as a temporal or a spiritual phenomenon. Because of the influence of the *passiones* found in Arnold's chronicle on current historiography, much of the work on Franciscan martyrdom characterizes it as temporal with an emphasis on the goal of dying through the agency of a Muslim enemy.⁷ In contrast, this chapter suggests that Jordan's *Chronica* and thirteenth-century textual conceptions of Franciscan martyrdom drew the friars toward non-confrontational forms of evangelization and martyrdom. As a means to explore this hypothesis, we will consider whether or not Arnold's *passiones* are relevant with respect to thirteenth-century conceptions of Franciscan martyrdom and whether Franciscan understanding of martyrdom consisted of a physical engagement achieved through conflict with non-believers or a spiritual struggle that took place on a metaphysical level.

The Fourteenth-century *Passiones* and Thirteenth-century Franciscan Martyrdom

A problem that we immediately encounter with regards to the scholarship regarding Franciscan mission and martyrdom in the thirteenth century is that thirteenth-century sources, such as Jordan's *Chronica*, furnish very little information about those friars who were considered to be martyrs, particularly the five friars killed in Morocco in 1220. As a result, scholars tend to read Arnold's fourteenth-century *passiones* back onto thirteenth-century

⁷ Heullant-Donat, "La perception des premiers martyrs franciscains à l'intérieur de l'Ordre au XIII^e siècle," in *Religion et mentalités au Moyen Âge: Mélanges en l'honneur d'Hervé Martin*, ed. Sophie Cassagnes-Brouquet, Amaury Chauou, Daniel Pichot, and Lienel Rousselot (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 211–20; Steven J. McMichael, "Francis and the encounter with the sultan (1219)," in *The Cambridge Companion to Francis of Assisi*, ed. Michael J.P. Robson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 127–42; Christopher MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World through Franciscan Eyes" *Catholic Historical Review* 97:1 (2011): 1–23; Burr, "A Time to Live, a Time to Die: Angelo Clareno on Martyrdom," *FS* 70:1 (2012): 411–28; Heullant-Donat, "Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order (Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries)," *FS* 70 (2012): 429–53.

events or to read the thirteenth-century texts in a fashion that presupposes that their narratives must necessarily lead to the late fourteenth-century *passiones*. Both methodologies tend to suggest that the standard procedure for Franciscan mission was to confront Muslims regarding the perceived inadequacies of Islam, and that consequently the goal of Franciscan martyrdom within Franciscan mission was to achieve death at the hands of non-believers. This method of reading confrontation into the thirteenth-century sources results in a ready acceptance of *The First General of the order was our glorious Father Saint Francis* (the first book of Arnold's work) and the *Passion of the holy Martyrs of Morocco brothers Berard, Peter, Adiutus, Accursius, Otho* (an appendix to the chronicle) as depicting the martyrdom of these five friars in Morocco in 1220 with historical accuracy.⁸ Some support for this view might be provided by the fact that although each of the *passiones* furnishes slightly different information, they agree in terms of their overall narrative, which suggests that they might be based on the same oral tradition.⁹

In this section, however, contrary to this view, we suggest that Arnold's *passiones* have little bearing on events in Morocco in 1220 but instead show how the Friars Minor in the late 1300s responded to divisions within the order and to Christianity's inability to convert Muslims. In investigating this idea, it is helpful to consider how the context of the Friars Minor and Christianity in the late 1300s shaped the ways in which the friars viewed martyrdom in the fourteenth century, how the *passiones* addressed a fourteenth-century

⁸ James D. Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages: Martyrdom, Popular Veneration, and Canonization," *Catholic Historical Review* 90:1 (2004): 8–9; Heullant-Donat, "La perception des premiers martyrs," 220; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels: Rome, the Almohads, and the Christians of Thirteenth-Century Morocco," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 41:3 (2011): 487.

⁹ Hoffman and Hoffman, "Reliability and Validity in Oral History," 107–35; Neisser, "John Dean's Memory": 1–22. Even though this chapter suggests that the fourteenth-century *passiones* are unreliable texts regarding the five friars' deaths in 1220, the correlation of the texts is nonetheless indicative of how this narrative, once constructed within Arnold's memory, remained fairly constant.

apocalyptic agenda, and what benefits the friars saw in the perspective that informed these fourteenth-century texts. Although this means focusing our attention on the fourteenth century and not the thirteenth century, it will permit us to disentangle these later debates regarding the nature of martyrdom as an aspect of Franciscan identity from earlier ones, especially as found in Jordan's *Chronica*.

The most apparent problem with these *passiones* is that Arnold composed them more than a century after the events described and included anachronistic or inaccurate information. For example, Arnold wrote that Alfonso III was the king of Portugal in 1220 and that he was the second son of Sancho II. However, Alfonso III did not rule Portugal until 1246–1279, and it was his father, Alfonso II (r. 1212–1233) who ruled the kingdom when the friars first entered the Iberian peninsula. Moreover, Sancho II (r. 1233–1246) was Alfonso III's elder brother, not his father. Arnold's characterization of the lady Sancha (d. 1229) as Alfonso III's daughter is also incorrect, since she was Alfonso II's sister.¹⁰ While these errors are immaterial to the narrative's plot, they do suggest the possibility of further inaccuracies concerning such details as the martyred friars' intentions, deeds, and deaths.

What is more troubling is that, when we look at the world in which the Friars Minor were positioned during the fourteenth century, we see that Arnold's *passiones* were a response to a number of contemporary social and political pressures. For example, as is well known, by the 1290s, the order had divided into two separate factions over the issue of property: the Conventuals who accepted the use of property so as to further their evangelical goals and the Spirituals who spurned it. The division was great enough that the Conventuals had four Spirituals burned for heresy in Marseille in 1318 while the Conventual leadership hastily left

¹⁰ *Passio sanctorum*, 579–80.

Avignon to avoid meeting a similar end.¹¹ On a broader scale, the Friars Minor and the larger Christian community had failed to prevail over Islam despite numerous crusades and missions to Muslim regions. Furthermore, by the 1300s, Christianity had witnessed more Christians converting to Islam than they had seen Muslims adopting Christianity. Whether consciously or not, Arnold responded to these situations by constructing *passiones* in which, for the first time in this genre, Muslims served as persecutors of Christians.¹² Furthermore, these *passiones* presented the martyrdoms of Franciscans as bringing new life to the Friars Minor specifically and to Christianity generally. In these narratives, the Franciscan martyrs see their deaths at the hands of an implacable foe as putting an end to the order's divisions and as bringing all Christians together against a common enemy.¹³

Moreover, since Arnold's works follow in the apocalyptic and eschatological lineage of Joachim of Fiore, Peter of John Olivi, Ubertino de Casale, and Angelo Clareno,¹⁴ we should expect that Arnold wrote these *passiones* within a framework that places the Franciscan order in a spiritual conflict with deeper and darker forces and therefore that this narrative of confrontation between good and evil supersedes any attempt at historical accuracy.¹⁵ Indeed, the *passiones* situate the martyrdom of the five friars within two intersecting narrative frames

¹¹ Burr, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, 1.

¹² MacEvitt, "Victory by Desire: Crusade and Martyrdom in the Fourteenth Century," in *Center and Periphery: Studies on Power in the Medieval World in Honor of William Chester Jordan*, ed. Katherine L. Jansen, G. Geltner, Anne E. Lester (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2013), 223–4; Robert I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth-Century Dream of Conversion," *American Historical Review* 76 (1971): 1433–4; Richard Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962), 67–77; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 487–9.

¹³ MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World": 5.

¹⁴ Maria Teresa Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV generalium : il difficile percorso dell'unità nella storia francescana*, Centro studi antoniani 40 (Padua: Centro studi antoniani, 2003), 163–73; Armstrong, *FA:ED* 3, 17, 674–5; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 101–4; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 129–43.

¹⁵ Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV generalium*, 189–208.

that pit Christianity against Islam. The first framework positions Francis as placing the two faiths in conflict by describing the founder as planning to confront the Islamic enemy by sending missions to Syria in the east and to Morocco in the west. Before dispatching the mission to the Iberian peninsula, Francis reminds the friars always to keep the Lord's Passion before them and to suffer for Christ.¹⁶ While we might characterize this evocation of the Passion as an exhortation for the friars to keep central Christian doctrines foremost in their minds, this scene in a *passio* also serves to foreshadow martyrdom as an objective for the narrative's protagonists. Further prefiguring these men's impending deaths, the five friars inform the king's sister Sancha that they will receive their own martyrdoms.¹⁷ The second narrative framework proceeds from divisions within the Portuguese royal family, with the king's brother Pedro seeking refuge in the Muslim regions of Spain under the protection of the king of Morocco.¹⁸ Within the *passiones*, this conflict suggests that some Iberian Christians had strayed from the Church by associating with Muslims, and the discord within the royal family reflects division within the Portuguese populace. When we combine these narrative strands, the storyline becomes one in which the five friars, counseled to think in terms of Christian martyrdom through spiritual opposition to the Muslim faith, enter a dynamic political struggle in which Christians fraternize and ally themselves with the religious enemy.¹⁹

¹⁶ *Generalium*, 10–11; *Passio sanctorum*, 581–2.

¹⁷ *Passio sanctorum*, 583.

¹⁸ *Passio sanctorum*, 579–96; José Hermano Saraiva, *Portugal: A Companion History*, ed. Ian Robertson and L. C. Taylor (Manchester, England: Carcanet Press, 1997), 17–18; Ryan, "Missionary Saints": 8–10.

¹⁹ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 6–7; Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), 125–6. Tolan and Kedar read these *passiones* without regard to their anachronisms or apocalyptic and eschatological formulations, and therefore contend that the *passiones* exhibit Franciscan confrontation in early thirteenth-century Morocco.

The objective of these *passiones*, then, is to suggest that the friars, through their martyrdoms, brought political and religious cohesion to the kingdom of Portugal. Instead of preaching to Christians in Portugal, however, the friars sneak into Seville, where they deliver sermons extolling the glories of the Christian God and impugn the prophet Mohammed and Islamic law. These sermons lead to their imprisonment and, eventually, to their executions. Pedro reacts by reinvigorating his Christian faith, reconciling with his brother, and returning to Portugal. These actions, in turn, incite the Moroccan sultan to attack the Christians militarily.²⁰ In this way, the friars' martyrdoms lead the Portuguese Christians—as represented by Pedro—to come back to the Christian fold, serve to harden the demarcations between Christians and Muslims in the Iberian peninsula, and confirm Francis' representation of the conflict between Christendom and Islam as one of confrontation. The author uses the founder's reaction—he rejoices after he hears about the friars' deaths, because he could now claim that there were five friars worthy enough to be his brothers—to indicate that Francis approved of confrontation with Muslims and of martyrdom at their hands.²¹ Consequently, the *passiones* advocate martyrdom not as one component but as *the* culmination of Franciscan mission, and in this way, through their willingness to fight and to die for the Christian faith, the Franciscans reorder society and encourage Christians to become more orthodox in their beliefs and actions.

Thus, Arnold captured the manner in which the memory of the early thirteenth-century martyrdoms had been consciously and unconsciously altered by the Friars Minor over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Because these memories of the five friars

²⁰ *Passio sanctorum*, 579–96; Saraiva, *Portugal*, 17–18; Ryan, “Missionary Saints”: 8–10.

²¹ *Passio sanctorum*, 593.

dying in Morocco survived in an oral tradition, the Friars Minor were probably not concerned with the accuracy of the details but with the meaning within them. Indeed, as the friars who might have remembered key pieces of information died, the components of the narrative would have entered the realm of myth, thereby increasing the importance that individuals placed on the layers of meaning that they found within the narrative. Although we do not have earlier documents concerning the five friars' deaths with which we can compare the narratives and confirm that the meaning within them had shifted so as to make the friars' deaths seem more significant, the context of Arnold's text suggests that this is what had happened. By the late 1300s, the friars were still attempting to make sense of the friars' deaths and did so by giving them what seemed a more appropriate symbolic context. Indeed, the scattered references to these martyrdoms throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries indicate that the order had suffered a psychological wound in their inability to convert Muslims to the Christian faith.

Furthermore, none of the thirteenth-century texts that mention the five friars' executions in Morocco says anything about confrontation as an element leading to their deaths. For example, Jordan describes the men as having received crowns of martyrdom, but omits how they died and instead relates the Italian friars' reactions to their deaths.²² In the *Sayings of Blessed Giles of Assisi* (put on parchment sometime before 1284), Giles is said to have thought that the order's prelates should have done more to have the five friars canonized for their bravery in confessing the faith.²³ The *First Life of Anthony of Padua*, written after 1264,

²² Jordan, 36.

²³ *Dicta Beati Aegidii Assisiensis*, 75. Chapter XXV of the *Sayings of Blessed Giles of Assisi* has this to say about the martyrs: "Videbatur fratri Aegidio, quod male fecissent praelati maiores ordinis fratrum minorum eo, quod non procurassent pro viribus coram domino papa, non obtentu propriae gloriae, sed contemplatione honoris Domini dumtaxat et aedificationis proximorum, canonizationem fratrum minorum martyrum, qui pro gloriosa confessione fidei fuerunt apud Marochium interfecti." Heullant-Donat, "Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order": 438–

relates how the five friars were almost martyred for confessing their faith, but the sultan permitted them to continue unimpeded to Morocco, where they were tortured and beheaded. The reasons for the friars' deaths is not given, but this omission stems from either the author's lack of knowledge regarding the friars' deaths or from the lack of importance that this detail had for the author's principal purpose in writing this section of the *legendum*: to recount the manner in which the friars' deaths prompted Anthony to convert to the Franciscan order.²⁴ Fidentius of Padua, in his *Book on Recovering the Holy Land*, composed in 1291, mentions the five friars and reports that they were killed by the Moroccan Muslims, but portrays them as having died only for professing the word of God.²⁵ Thus, while the author of the *Blessed Life of Giles* and Fidentius of Padua indicate that the friars shared Christian doctrine with Muslims, neither of these authors suggests in any way that the friars acted in an aggressive or confrontational manner.

As it is, Jordan always depicts the Friars Minor as non-confrontational whenever the order entered a new land. This non-hostile attitude is most clear with regard to the 1219 missions that were sent to France, Germany, and Hungary and which encountered many difficulties with the local populations. For instance, we are told that the bishop and university masters in Paris suspected that the friars were heretics, so they detained them and asked the

9, 449. Heullant-Donat characterizes the martyrdoms as voluntary, but she seems to be basing this perception on Arnold of Sarrant's description of the 1220 martyrs in his *passiones*. Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43.

²⁴ de Kerval, *Sancti Antonii de Padua*, 2, 28–31. “Post haec autem, quum reliquias sanctorum martyrum, Fratrum videlicet Minorum, Dominus Petrus, Infans, a Marocchio deportasset et eorundem meritis miraculose se liberatum, per omnes Hispaniae provincias, divulgasset, audiens servus Dei Antonius mira quae per eos fiebant, directus est et ipse in fortitudine Spiritus sancti, accingensque cinctorio fidei renes suos, roborabat brachium armatura zeli illius.”

²⁵ Fidentius of Padua, “Liber recuperationis Terre Sancte,” 23. “Hanc stoliditatem Sarraceni a propheta suo acceperunt, qui in libro suo scripsit dicens: ‘Dimiccate contra eos, qui vos impugnant in via Dei, et occidite eos ubicumque ceperitis.’ Viam Dei vocat fidem, seu ritum seu superstitionem quam eos idem docuit Machometus. Sic occisi fuerunt v fratres Minores qui profecti [erant] Marrochium ad predicandum infidelibus verbum Dei.” Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order”: 438–9.

papacy to confirm their orthodoxy.²⁶ In Germany, the friars, who were ignorant of the German language, accidentally said that they were heretics. As a result, the Germans threw the friars into prison or undressed them and forced them to dance naked.²⁷ In Hungary, the native people intimidated the friars by setting dogs on them or by hitting them with staves.²⁸ Unable to communicate with their attackers, the friars tried giving their tunics and breeches to their attackers in order to diminish the Hungarians' hostility.²⁹ Instead of challenging the Germans or Hungarians so as to achieve martyrdom, the friars suffered these persecutions and returned to Italy alive.³⁰ In this way, Jordan indicates with these missions that the friars did not go to distant lands in order to achieve martyrdom but in order to proselytize the local people.

Indeed, the manner in which Jordan juxtaposes the friars martyred in Morocco in 1220 with the friars who had volunteered to go to Germany in 1221 suggests that he believed that

²⁶ Jordan, 34–5. Chapter 4: “Fratres vero, qui in Franciam venerunt, interrogati, si essent Ambigenses, responderunt quod sic, non intelligentes quid essent Ambigenses, nescientes tales esse hereticos, et sic quasi heretici sunt reputati. Episcopus vero et magistri tandem eorum regulam perlegentes et ewangelicam et catholicam videntes super hoc dominum papam Honorium consuluerunt, qui eorum regulam autenticam utpote a sede firmatam et fratres speciales filios romane ecclesie et vere catholicos suis litteris declaravit et sic eos a suspicione heresis liberavit.” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24–5.

²⁷ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: “Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutonium inficerent, sicut et Lombardiam pervertissent, et respondissent ‘ia,’ quidam ex ipsis plagati, quidam incarcerati et quidam denudati nudi ad choream sunt ducti et spectaculum ludicre hominibus sunt effecti.” Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 209–10; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24–5.

²⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “[C]um divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspidem sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt.” Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 209–10; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24.

²⁹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “Et cum inter se fratres conquirent, quare sic mactarentur, dixit unus: ‘Forte quia tunicas nostras superiores habere volunt.’ Quas cum dedissent, nec sic a verberibus destiterunt. Et adiecit: ‘Forte etiam et tunicas nostras inferiores habere volunt.’ Quas cum dedissent, nec sic percutere desierunt. Et dixit: ‘Forte et braccas nostras habere volunt.’ Quas cum dedissent, a verberibus destiterunt et nudos abire permiserunt. Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat.”

³⁰ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: “Videntes ergo fratres, quod fructum in Theutonia facere non possent, in Italiam sunt reversi.” Chapter 6: “Hiis et aliis pluribus contumeliis affecti in Italiam sunt reversi.”

the Moroccan martyrs were killed for reasons other than their supposed confrontational methods of evangelism. Jordan states that, at the 1221 General Chapter, he did not want to be sent to northern Italy, where heretics might corrupt his beliefs, or to Germany, where the ferocity of the local habitants would prompt him to modify his faith.³¹ Later in his narrative, he reiterates this fear of how the Germans' cruelty would make him suffer and, thereby, imperil his soul by making him lose his patience.³² This fear of the Germans apparently stemmed from the above-mentioned stories about how groups of the Friars Minor were treated brutally on the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary.³³

Jordan then presents the juxtaposition between the Moroccan martyrs and the participants of the 1219 mission to Germany when he states that Francis asked for volunteers who were willing to evangelize north of the Alps. In this part of his narrative, Jordan reports the founder as stating that anyone who joined the German mission would be expected to display the same level of obedience as any friar who went beyond the sea—in other words, those friars who went to proselytize in Muslim lands.³⁴ Jordan describes the friars who volunteered to go north of the Alps as offering to die³⁵ and as going to their deaths.³⁶ At this point in the

³¹ Jordan, 40. Chapter 18: "Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumpetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare."

³² Jordan, 41–2. Chapter 18: "Ire timuit propter Theutonicorum crudelitatem, ne si in passionibus patientiam perderet, in anima periclitaretur."

³³ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: "Et quia ad eos aliquociens missi fratres male tractati redierunt, nullum ad ipsos ire compellit frater."

³⁴ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: "Sed qui zelo dei et animarum inspirati ire vellent, eandem eis obedienciam immo ampliorem dare vult, quam daret euntibus ultra mare."

³⁵ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: "Et desiderio inflammati surrexerunt circiter 90 fratres morti se offerentes et seorsum, sicut iussi fuerant, secedentes expectabant responsum, qui et quanti, qualiter et quando ire deberent."

³⁶ Jordan, 40. Chapter 18: "Qui videns multos fratres surgere paratos ad eundum in Theutoniam, estimans eos statim a Theutunicis martirizandos et dolens . . ."

Chronica, he draws a direct link between these men and the friars who went to the Iberian peninsula, because he says that he regrets that he had not learned the names of the men who died in Morocco.³⁷ He completes this link by stating that he wanted to learn the names of the men going to Germany and their places of origin so that, in case they were murdered, he could say that he had known these men.³⁸ At no point does Jordan draw a distinction between these two groups of men other than to state their point of destination. Moreover, he makes clear that the cruelty of the Germans was the only reason why the group going to Germany would be martyred, which suggests that the five friars died in Morocco as a result of a comparative ferocity among the Muslims they encountered.

Consequently, while we might be tempted to rely on Arnold's fourteenth-century writings to fill in the details regarding how the five friars received the martyrs' palm in 1220, we must remember that Arnold structured his narratives so as to respond to the Franciscans' circumstances in the fourteenth century and not to record events as they actually occurred in the thirteenth century. As a result, we cannot trust the texts' content on a factual or interpretive level and must instead accept that we ultimately cannot know why the five friars were put to death. Furthermore, Jordan's *Chronica* intimates that the friars who died in Morocco suffered persecution because of misunderstandings with the local inhabitants or because of a perceived Muslim brutality—but not as a result of evangelical confrontation. Since Arnold's *passiones* exhibit fourteenth-century notions of martyrdom as a response to the order's relationships with Islam in the late 1300s and since the *Chronica* suggests

³⁷ Jordan, 40–1. Chapter 18: “Qui videns multos fratres surgere paratos ad eundem in Theutonium, estimans eos statim a Theutunicis martirizandos et dolens, quod fratres missos in Hispaniam et martirizatos nominatenus non noverat.”

³⁸ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: “[V]olens in istis cavere, quod sibi acciderat in illis, surgens de medio omnium ivit ad illos, discurrens per singulos et querens ‘quis es et unde es,’ estimans gloriam magnam esse, si ipsos martirizari contingeret, quod dicere posset: ‘illum novi et illum novi.’”

nonviolent proselytizing, it will be useful to explore the thirteenth-century Franciscan texts in greater depth to see how the friars conceptualized Franciscan martyrdom in the 1200s.

The Spiritual Geography of Franciscan Martyrdom

With his story of the five Moroccan martyrs and of the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary, Jordan presents Franciscan experiences that affected the order's conceptions of martyrdom; however, his stories are not emblematic of *passio* narratives and, therefore, do not convey a carefully thought-out theological conception of martyrdom. Consequently, it is a good idea to investigate examples of early Roman martyrdom accounts that influenced these Franciscan conceptions. Indeed, because of the paucity of examples of Franciscan martyrdom in thirteenth-century texts, scholars have turned to Roman martyrdom narratives for clues as to how thirteenth-century Franciscans perceived martyrdom at the hands of a human opponent. As a result of this scholarship, it has become clear that the friars were surrounded by textual artifacts that privileged dying for one's faith, including such texts as *passiones* that recounted the deaths of Roman martyrs and remained a current part of the Christian narrative.³⁹ It is possible, however, that the thirteenth-century Friars Minor were more affected by the so-called spiritual geography of Roman martyrdom accounts than by their depictions of actual violent confrontation between believer and unbeliever. "Spiritual geography" expresses the process in which people's personal experiences inform their beliefs, and these beliefs, then, foster action. These actions, in the form of religious practices, rituals, and ceremonies commemorate the past in a manner that strengthens the presence of the supernatural in people's lives. In this way, people find meaning by retelling stories that

³⁹ Ryan, "Missionary Saints": 1–5.

are symbolic of past and present spirituality.⁴⁰

In this section, it is suggested that thirteenth-century texts that discuss Franciscan martyrdom articulate it as resisting or fighting devils and demons on the spiritual realm and not as seeking a physical death at the hands of a disbelieving enemy. The questions that need to be asked, therefore, are: whether Roman *passiones* portrayed martyrdom on a temporal realm or on a spiritual one, how Roman martyrdom accounts might have affected thirteenth-century conceptions of Franciscan martyrdom in a spiritual manner, and the extent to which thirteenth-century texts convey a more spiritual conception of Franciscan martyrdom.

As noted above, recent scholarship has investigated the manner in which Roman martyrdom accounts influenced the Franciscans, but that investigation itself is grounded within a framework built around acceptance of Arnold's *passiones* as essentially accurate. For example, Christopher McEvitt contends that the Friars Minor were aware of Roman martyrdom accounts and that these fed into conceptions of Franciscan martyrdom; however, he bases his analysis of thirteenth-century Franciscan martyrdom on how the "violent emotions of the Saracens contrasted with the calm demeanor of the saints," as evidenced in Arnold's *passiones*.⁴¹ Since Arnold's works are more concerned with issues in the fourteenth century, another assessment of the effects of the late Roman *passiones* is warranted.

Even though, as McEvitt contends, Roman martyrdom accounts showcase the violence visited upon Christians by their pagan counterparts, these accounts also develop a spiritual geography, wherein Christians oppose the devil and his minions by holding fast to their faith

⁴⁰ Martha L. Henderson, "What is Spiritual Geography?," *Geographical Review* 83:4 (Oct., 1993): 470.

⁴¹ MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World": 12; Dolso, *La Chronica XXIV generalium*, 189–208. MacEvitt writes that "[t]he image of Muslims and Islamic authority did conform to older martyrological tropes about the persecutor in some ways. . . . The emphasis on the violent emotions of the Saracens contrasted with the calm demeanor of the saints and echoed the long martyrological tradition of the raging demonic tyrant who turns against both God and pious Christians."

despite the pagans' persecution of Christians. For example, the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*,⁴² an early third-century *passio*, recounts how, in the province of North Africa, Roman pagans persecuted Christians on a local level; and the text supplies a good example of a martyrdom account's spiritual geography, which serves to reinforce Christian doctrines and practices. In this *passio*, Roman officials discover Perpetua (d. c. 203) and several other Christians practicing their faith, and the Romans attempt many times and through various means, such as imprisonment and the influence of Perpetua's father, to convince the Christians that it was in everyone's interest for the Christians to perform sacrifices for, and to pray to, the pagan gods that protected the Roman state. The Christians continually refuse to deny their faith in Christ and God and decline to adore the Roman gods, which means that they are guilty of treason against the empire.⁴³

While the Christians await their punishment, Perpetua experiences four visions, the last of which intimates that martyrdom is a spiritual battle and not a temporal one. After being told that she and the other Christians will be fed to wild beasts, Perpetua dreams that she is led into the arena where, instead of animals, she faces an Egyptian. Helpers remove her clothes, rub her body with oil, and, in the process, reveal that Perpetua's gender has changed to male. At this point, a man of great stature announces that if the Egyptian wins, he will slay Perpetua; however, if she wins, she will receive a branch signifying her victory. Then, the

⁴² Perpetua, "Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis," in *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, by Thomas J. Heffernan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 100–24.

⁴³ Michael Gaddis, *There Is no Crime for those Who Have Christ: Religious Violence in the Christian Roman Empire*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 88–93, 113–14, 121–2, 152, 160–2, 165–82, 186, 190–1, 205–6; Peter Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women, and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2008), 73–7, 141, 153; George Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice: Roman and Christian Discourses in Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2007), 164–218; Candida R. Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom: Diverse Practices, Theologies, and Traditions* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2012), 49–76, 122–44, 145–62.

two opponents face each other and begin to exchange blows until Perpetua vanquishes the Egyptian. The master of gladiators bestows the branch upon her and gives her a kiss, thereby permitting her to enter the Gate of Life. When Perpetua awakes, she interprets the dream to mean that she will be fighting the devil, not beasts, and that she will be victorious.⁴⁴

In this section, Perpetua makes fairly clear that she and her companions were fighting a spiritual enemy intent on diminishing or subverting the Christians' faith through the use of mortal opponents who were unaware of the greater struggle. The Roman officials are faceless, bureaucratic men doing what they believed was right, but they are not infused with knowledge of the part that they play for the devil. Just as important, Perpetua and her companions do not seek martyrdom through antagonizing the Romans, but instead try to avoid revealing their faith and passively suffer incarceration and death after pagans come looking for them. In this way Perpetua's account suggests that Christians avoided persecution if possible, but accepted it passively if pagans sought them out, and that she interpreted martyrdom as a spiritual battle, not a temporal one. Admittedly, some early martyrdom accounts omit these supernatural battles, since these other texts emphasize such tension between pagans and Romans as injustice in the Roman legal system (as occurs in the *Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs*)⁴⁵ or the moral bankruptcy of pagan philosophy (a hope in the *Acts of*

⁴⁴ Perpetua, "Passio Sanctarum Perpetuae et Felicitatis," 111–13; Thomas J. Heffernan, *The Passion of Perpetua and Felicity*, 254–72; Hartmut Böhme, "The Conquest of the Real by the Imaginary: On the Passio Perpetuae," trans. Jeanne Riou, in *Perpetua's Passions: Multidisciplinary Approaches to the Passio Perpetuae et Felicitatis*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Marco Formisano (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 228–32, 240–3; Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 49–76, 122–44, 145–62; Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice*, 191–6. Böhme interprets the conflict as an internal one between the good and evil within Perpetua. While he is correct that the Christian must fight the evil within him- or herself, Moss and Heyman contend that medieval writers also interpreted this effort as transcending an individual's struggles to encompass the battle with the evil one in all quarters.

⁴⁵ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 122–9.

Justin and His Companions).⁴⁶ However, the theme of Christians opposing the devil in the spiritual realm by fighting for Christ in the physical realm that we find in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* appears to be representative of other early martyrdom accounts, since we also come across it in such texts as the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*⁴⁷ and the *Victors of Vienne and Lyons*.⁴⁸

While Perpetua's account of persecution by Roman pagans seems to correlate well to the friars' relationships with Muslim rulers in Islamic regions, it is useful to consider the lessons of Late Roman eremitic texts, such as that concerning Anthony of Egypt (c. 251–356), since the Franciscans also adopted an eremitic way of life. In his *Life of Saint Antony of Egypt* (c. 356–362), Athanasius of Alexandria (c. 296–373) describes Anthony as experiencing spiritual persecution from demons that frequently accosted him so as to prevent him from contemplating God and God's gifts.⁴⁹ In Athanasius' work, the battle between the religious man and his demonic enemy derive from the belief that demons inhabit the air between earth and heaven so as to prevent morally inattentive humans from reaching heaven. Indeed, the demons try to hinder even eremitic men such as Anthony by tempting them with thoughts of the world, the weakness of the body, and sexual gratification. The only remedy is to increase

⁴⁶ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 77–99.

⁴⁷ J. B. Lightfoot and J. R. Harmer, Michael W. Holmes, eds., *The Apostolic Fathers: Greek Texts and English Translations of Their Writings* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1992), 238–43; Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 51–7, 67; Heyman, *The Power of Sacrifice*, xi–xxiii, 140, 173–4, 179, 193–4, 198, 202, 218, 231, 233–4; Brown, *The Body and Society*, 83–4, 93, 163–7, 226–9.

⁴⁸ Moss, *Ancient Christian Martyrdom*, 108–15, 119. For a review of how this theme runs through the fourth and fifth centuries, see Gaddis, *There Is no Crime for those Who Have Christ*, but particularly pages 88–93, 113–14, 121–2, 152, 160–2, 165–82, 186, 190–1, 205–6.

⁴⁹ Gerardus Garitte, *S. Antonii Vitae: Versio Sahidica*, *Scriptores Coptici Series Quarta*, vol. 1, *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Durbecq, France: Lovanii e Typographeo Linguarum Orientalium, 1949), 4–11, 16–30, 32; Brown, *The Body and Society*, 137, 204, 213–16, 223–6.

one's ascetic activities.⁵⁰ To be sure, Athanasius writes that Anthony wanted to be a martyr and went to Alexandria to minister to those Christians there who were being persecuted by the pagan authorities. Despite openly aiding the martyrs and standing with them in the law court, Anthony is not honored by death in the arena like Bishop Peter. However, Athanasius directly links the two men by stating that just as Bishop Peter bore witness in the arena, so Anthony bore witness in the desert,⁵¹ meaning that Anthony's asceticism and wrestling with demons was martyrdom in its own way. As a result, Athanasius' biography of Anthony is structurally similar to Perpetua's narrative, except that where Perpetua fights the devil indirectly through her death in the arena at the jaws of wild beasts, Athanasius removes the Roman pagans and permits Anthony to fight the supernatural enemy directly.

Interestingly, we can find an analogue of the spiritual geography of these late Roman texts in a late thirteenth-century Franciscan *legendum*, the *Life of Blessed Giles*.

Unfortunately, the dating of the sources for the *Life of Blessed Giles* is a little uncertain, but the *legendum*'s narrative is still suggestive of thirteenth-century Franciscan martyrdom.

According to Salimbene in his *Chronica*, Leo, one of Francis' closest companions, wrote a *legendum* about Giles,⁵² which would mean that this text existed before 1284. However, the manuscript traditions consist of two versions of the *Life of Blessed Giles*, a short version and a long one. The short version survives in compilations dating from 1318 or later, and this late

⁵⁰ David Brakke, *Athanasius and the Politics of Asceticism*, Oxford Early Christian Studies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 203–4, 211, 216–38.

⁵¹ Garitte, *S. Antonii Vitae*, 29–30. “Postquam autem cessavit persecutio, et martyr factus est beatus episcopus Petrus, ad monasterium suum emigravit, et ibi cotidie in conscientia sua secedebat; ingentem enim ascesim, multam et valde asperam iniit.” Gaddis, *There Is no Crime for those Who Have Christ*, 152–5, 159–60, 165–86.

⁵² Salimbene, vol. 2, 810. “Fuit autem frater Egidius, qui Perusii in archa saxeā tumulatus est in ecclesia fratrum, quartus frater Ordinis fratrum Minorum, computato beato Francisco; cuius vitam frater Leo, qui fuit unus de tribus specialibus sociis beati Francisci, sufficienter descripsit.”

dating suggests that Leo's original text is not extant. Moreover, the short version is found either with various unrelated texts or within a cycle, often referred to as either the *Legenda Antiqua* or the *Speculum Vitae*. Despite some variations in orthography or phrasing, the only major differences in the variants of the short version are the addition in a few of the copies of four extra chapters that were interpolated from the *Acts of Blessed Francis and His Companions*. Since the manuscripts of the short version are very similar in content, though, it is likely that, with the exception of the four additional chapters, the narrative as witnessed by these manuscripts originates from a common original text, quite possibly the one composed by Leo. Contrarily, the long version is always found as part of the *Chronicle of the Twenty-four Generals*, which was composed around 1369. Moreover, this long version is comprised of the stories found in the short version, material from a variety of other sources, and new chapters that are unique to it.⁵³

The thirteenth-century Franciscan analogue to Perpetua's and Anthony of Egypt's spiritual geography can be found in one of the uninterpolated chapters in the short version of the *Life of Blessed Giles*. In this narrative, we are told, Giles often felt the devil persecuting him as he prayed in his cell, and this mistreatment often took the form of the evil one pressing down on Giles. To free himself, Giles would recite the *Pater noster* or, when that failed, sprinkle himself with holy water. These persecutions increased as Giles neared the end of his life, and it was only with the help of Gratian, the friar who served him, that he was able to escape the devil's oppression. The persecutions become so frequent that, as he returned to his cell each night after eating the evening meal, Giles would opine "I anticipate my

⁵³ Walter W. Seton, *Blessed Giles of Assisi* (Manchester: The University Press, 1918), 26–34.

martyrdom” (“Exspecto martyrium”).⁵⁴ This story indicates that thirteenth-century textual traditions suggested a spiritual interpretation of Franciscan martyrdom, equivalent to wrestling with the devil in the supernatural realm, much as we find in the *Passion of Perpetua and Felicity* and in the *Life of Saint Antony of Egypt*.

The short *Life of Blessed Giles* is clearer on this interpretation of thirteenth-century Franciscan spiritual geography than are the records for Clare of Assisi’s canonization process and the biography Anthony of Padua, both of which refer to martyrdom in connection with the five friars martyred in Morocco in 1220. As with the martyrdom of the five Franciscans in Morocco, historians have drawn on Arnold’s *passiones* to interpret the biographers’ declarations that Clare and Anthony wished to achieve martyrdom to mean that they wanted to die a physical death at the hands of a heretical or Muslim enemy. For example, Isabelle Heullant-Donat points out that two of Clare’s companions (Cecilia and Balvina) related that she wanted to join the friars martyred in Morocco in 1220.⁵⁵ She also states that Anthony’s decision to convert from the Augustinian order to the Franciscans resulted from the deaths of

⁵⁴ “Vita beati fratris Aegidii,” in *Scripta Fratris Leonis, socii S. P. Francisco*, ed. Leonard Lemmens (Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi): Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1901), 44–5, 58–60. “Cum autem vellet de sero post comestionem redire ad cellam, dicebat: ‘Exspecto martyrium.’” Lemmens edited Codex I/63 in the convent of the Friars Minor of S. Isidore in Rome. See “Vita beati fratris Aegidii,” in *Blessed Giles of Assisi*, ed. Walter W. Seton (Manchester: The University press, 1918), 62, 64, 80, 82, 84. The Codex Canonici Miscell. 528, in Oxford’s Bodleian Library, copied in 1438, has “Ymmo cum sero post comestionem vellet redire ad cellam, dicebat: ‘In nocte exspecto martyrium’” or “I anticipate my martyrdom in the night.” See also *Generalium*, 106–7, 111–12. Arnold of Sarrant expresses it as “Nunc exspecto martyrium meum,” or “Now I anticipate my martyrdom.” Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

⁵⁵ P. Z. Lazzeri, “Il processo di canonizzazione di S. Chiara d’Assisi,” *AFH* 13 (1920): 465, 468. Cecilia: “Ancho disse che la predicta madonna Chiara era in tanto fervore de spiritu, che voluntieri voleva sostenere el martirio per amore del Signore: et questo lo dimostrò quando, havendo inteso che a Marrochio erano state martirizzati certi Frati, epsa diceva che ce voleva andare; unde per questo epsa testimonia pianse: et questo fo prima che così se infirmasse.” Balvina: “. . . haveva tanto fervore de spiritu, che voluntieri per lo amore de Dio averia portato el martirio per la defensione de la fede et de l’Ordine suo. Et prima che epsa se infirmasse desiderava de andare alle parte de Marrochio, dove se diceva che erano menati li Frati al martirio.” Heullant-Donat, “Premiers martyrs franciscains,” 214–15, 217; MacEvitt, “Martyrdom and the Muslim World”: 3; Thomas de Papia, *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum Fratrum Minorum*, ed. F. M. Delorme, Bibliotheca Franciscana ascetica Medii Aevi 5 (Quaracchi, 1923), 9.

the five friars martyred in Morocco, and the return of their bodies to Portugal left such an impression on Anthony that he wanted to die in the same manner.⁵⁶ However, there is a difference between actively seeking conflict with non-Christians so as to become a martyr and a passive willingness to enter combat with demons in the spiritual realm. Both imply a deep and abiding commitment to one's faith, but one constitutes active effort while the other privileges passive acceptance.

The biographies of Clare and Anthony in fact do not demonstrate active effort but, rather, passive acceptance of martyrdom should these two individuals ever encounter it. In Clare's case, she was never given the opportunity to confront a physical enemy—either heretic or Muslim—as she was forced to enter a convent near San Damiano. Therefore, she could never have striven for temporal martyrdom, but she could have encountered spiritual martyrdom. As for Anthony, he only made one attempt to reach Morocco shortly after his conversion, but he was forced to turn back by illness. He then spent the rest of his life in southern France or north-eastern Italy, where he preached to the laity and taught theology to his fellow friars. In these regions, he was known as the Hammer of the Heretics because of his ability to confound heretics and to convert some of them to orthodoxy.⁵⁷ Despite his nickname and his predilection for engaging with heretics, Anthony's sermons expound on biblical exegesis and orthodox Catholic doctrine, but they do so without censuring or vilifying heretics or heretical

⁵⁶ Anthony of Padua, *Sancti Antonii de Padua vitæ duæ quarum altera hucusque inedita*, ed. Léon de Kerval (Paris: Fischbacher, 1904), 30–1; Thomas de Papia, *Dialogus de gestis sanctorum*, 9; Heullant-Donat, “Premiers martyrs franciscains,” 214–15.

⁵⁷ George Marcil, ed., *Sermones for the Easter Cycle* (St. Bonaventure, N.Y: The Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 1994), 18–25; Valentin Strappazon, *Sermons des dimanches et des fêtes I, du dimanche de la Septuagésime au dimanche de la Pentecôte*, Sagesses chrétiennes (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2005), xviii–xxvi; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 70–1.

doctrines.⁵⁸ Furthermore, even though Anthony did have opportunities to confront those who believed differently, he was never placed in any physical danger as far as we know, which indicates that he never endeavored to die for his faith. Since Clare and Anthony were either unable or unwilling to persevere in trying to go to either North Africa or to the Levant, we might therefore explain these ascriptions of wanting achieve martyrdom in the same fashion as the Moroccan martyrs either as rhetorical tropes within a genre or as references to a more spiritual conception of martyrdom in which Clare and Anthony continually reaffirmed their faith despite persecution, whether by humans or demons.

Interestingly, Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* shares some of these same themes, even though Thomas employs Francis' attempt to convert the sultan in order to express them. For instance, Thomas uses Francis' failure to achieve martyrdom in Syria to contend that God does not permit everyone—not even the order's founder—to achieve martyrdom through a physical death and that greater rewards come through living for one's faith rather than by dying for it. In Thomas' account, Francis initially attempted to sail to Syria, but bad winds and a storm prevented him from reaching his destination. As a result, the founder decided to try to go to Morocco, but he became ill before reaching the southern coast of Spain and had to return to Italy. With his third attempt, Francis reached Damietta in Egypt, where he managed to preach to the sultan but utterly failed to achieve martyrdom by dying for his faith at the Muslims' hands. Thomas explained the founder's failure—despite a deep and abiding desire to become a martyr—by explaining that God had other plans for

⁵⁸ Strappazzon, *Sermons des dimanches et des fêtes I*, xxx–xxxii, xxxix–l.

Francis, namely to imprint the stigmata on the mortal man's body.⁵⁹ Consequently, Thomas writes about martyrdom in terms of a possible physical death at the hands of Muslims and not of a spiritual encounter with the devil or his minions. However, while Thomas' narrative intimates that only Francis was worthy of the stigmata, his text counsels his readers not to seek martyrdom but instead to surrender themselves to God's will so that they might be worthy of similar, if not as significant, spiritual rewards.

A more mystical interpretation of this narrative, though, indicates that the story does not advocate *seeking* martyrdom but, instead, cultivating the *desire* for martyrdom. The distinction might be fine, but it is an important one. If an individual endeavored to die for his or her faith, he or she concentrated on a physical act that was believed would enable him or her to achieve certain religious goals—whether the conversion of others to orthodox Christianity or personal salvation and entry into heaven—in an expedited manner. The practical effect of a physical conception of martyrdom is that the individual was encouraged to act in aggressive or confrontational manner in order to force the person's desires on the world around him or her. By contrast, the desire for martyrdom was not a physical quest but a spiritual one in which the preparation to die enabled an individual to achieve mental or spiritual ecstasy more ably. This desire manifested itself in the renunciation of worldly goods and authority, in performing penance, and in meditation and prayer. When an individual cultivated this desire, he or she placed him- or herself on the path to evangelical perfection. For Francis, this path culminated in his reception of the stigmata, a symbolic depiction of his

⁵⁹ I Celano, 42–4; Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order”: 436; MacEvitt, “Martyrdom and the Muslim World”: 5–6; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 140–1; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 63–4. MacEvitt argues that the stigmata, as shown in Thomas' *Life of Saint Francis*, was a superior form of martyrdom.

desire for martyrdom.⁶⁰ On a functional level, then, a desire for martyrdom fostered an attitude of humility and submission to others, since the individual accepted persecution without eliciting it.

Consequently, it is all too easy to think about thirteenth-century Franciscan martyrdom as an act occurring in the physical world wherein one confronts a religious enemy and dies by his or her hands, but it might be more promising to think about Franciscan martyrdom as a spiritual battle in which one wrestles with the devil. After all, martyrdom was always a spiritual encounter between the forces of good (usually saints) and evil (demons, devils, and Satan or their human agents), regardless of whether those forces inhabited the temporal or spiritual realms. More important for this chapter's explorations, though, is the fact that martyrdom does not need to result in death, even if that is the manner in which it is often characterized. Instead, it is more useful to contemplate martyrdom as a form of persistent suffering in which the individual withstands persecution and tribulation in a manner that tests his or her steadfastness in her or his faith.

Persecution as Part of Mission in the *Chronica*

Although the *Chronica* indicates that Francis discouraged his followers from venerating the friars killed in Morocco, Jordan nonetheless also suggests that the Friars Minor in Italy were inclined to hold martyrs in high regard. Additionally, even though this chapter has suggested that early to mid thirteenth-century Franciscan writers primarily conceived of martyrdom as spiritual suffering, Jordan describes those Friars Minor who went on mission as suffering without any overt spiritual dimension to their hardship. However, it might be helpful to

⁶⁰ E. Randolph Daniel, "The Desire for Martyrdom: A Leitmotiv of St. Bonaventure," *FS* 32 (1972): 74–87; MacEvitt, "Victory by Desire," 228–30.

consider that the *Chronica*'s depiction of persecution implicitly contains that element of spirituality that is explicit in other thirteenth-century Franciscan texts. In this section, we will examine how Jordan portrays the persecution of friars, whether Jordan indicates that friars should abide persecution or submit themselves to God's will, and the manner in which Jordan presents Francis as an example of how the friars should tolerate abuse.

In the *Chronica*, Jordan indicates that Francis abhorred the idea that his followers might die for their faith. For instance, he uses the founder's reaction to the five Franciscans martyred in 1220 to indicate that the friars should not venerate and, therefore, imitate their martyred confreres. In this tale, Jordan describes how the friars in Assisi heard about the martyrs in Morocco. These stories praised Francis, and the Italian friars took pride in the martyrs' suffering. At this point, Jordan expresses the founder's displeasure with the situation by describing how Francis viewed himself with disgust and scorned praise and glory and how he forbade the friars from reading the accounts of the martyrs' deaths.⁶¹ Although the friars' reactions to the martyr accounts, Francis' attitudes toward praise, and the prohibition of reading about the martyrs' deaths can be read as three separate events, the manner in which Jordan juxtaposes them in one sentence suggests that they are connected. While Jordan focuses on Francis' disgust at how the martyrdom accounts praised him and at how the Italian friars wanted to venerate the martyrs, that the founder then stopped the friars from reading those accounts indicates that he did not want his followers to seek praise and glory through martyrdom. In this way, Jordan situates the desire to revere martyrs as an improper state of mind.

⁶¹ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: "Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis ac glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit . . ." Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 34–5.

After indicating that Francis did not seek plaudits and did not want his followers to copy those who died for their faith, Jordan recounts how the founder went to Egypt to convert the sultan to Christianity, and he employs this tale to illustrate how Francis conducted himself while on mission. Interestingly, while Thomas of Celano refers in the *Life of Saint Francis* to the founder's mission to see the sultan in Damietta as an attempt to seek martyrdom⁶² (which, as discussed above, should be understood within a spiritual context), Jordan places this narrative squarely within the context of mission. For example, he says that Francis went to face the same dangers⁶³ and to receive similar injuries and insults⁶⁴ as had the friars who had gone on the 1219 missions.⁶⁵ However, even though Francis endured injuries and insults, Jordan portrays the founder as conducting himself in an amiable manner during this mission, since he says that the sultan not only received Francis⁶⁶ into his court but that he was sufficiently well-disposed toward the friar that he had an armed guard escort him back to

⁶² 1 Celano, 42–3. “Sexto namque conversionis suae anno sacri martyrii desiderio maxime flagrans, ad praedicandam fidem christianam et poenitentiam Saracenis et caeteris infidelibus, ad partes Syriae voluit transfretare” and “Sed licet electissimorum fructuum evangelicus *palmes* copiam ex se producat, martyrii tamen sublime propositum et desiderium ardens in eo nullo modo frigescit.”

⁶³ Jordan, 36–7. Chapter 10: “[C]um filios ad incerta pericula miserit et inter fideles, ipse amore Christi passionis fervens eodem anno quo alios fratres misit, videlicet anno conversionis XIII., ad certa maris pericula transiens ad infideles se ad soldanum contulit.”

⁶⁴ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “Sed antequam perveniret ad ipsum, multis iniuriis et contumeliis est affectus et linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat, ‘Soldan, soldan.’”

⁶⁵ Jordan, 36–7. Chapter 10: “Hiis itaque dispositis animadvertens pater beatus, quod filios suos ad passiones miserit et labores, ne aliis laborantibus propter Christum ipse quietem suam querere videretur, cum esset gloriosus animo et nollet aliquem se precellere in via Christi, sed magis pre omnibus precellens esse, cum filios ad incerta pericula miserit et inter fideles, ipse amore Christi passionis fervens eodem anno quo alios fratres misit, videlicet anno conversionis XIII., ad certa maris pericula transiens ad infideles se ad soldanum contulit. Sed antequam perveniret ad ipsum, multis iniuriis et contumeliis est affectus et linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat, ‘Soldan, soldan.’ Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus. Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disponeret, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus.”

⁶⁶ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus.”

Damietta.⁶⁷ Such behavior on the sultan's part can only indicate that the two men treated each other with some modicum of respect. Furthermore, it reinforces Jordan's suggestion that Francis did not go to the sultan in order to receive martyrdom's glory but simply to share the message of penance and salvation with the sultan. At the same time, because Jordan suggests that the founder faced the same dangers as the friars who went on the 1219 missions, he intimates that the Moroccan martyrs carried themselves in a similar non-confrontational manner. To further convey that Francis was determined to avoid sending the friars into harmful situations, Jordan contends that the failure of the 1219 missions demonstrated that the time was not yet right for sending missions to other lands.⁶⁸ For this reason, Francis waited until 1221, at which time he felt that the conditions were finally appropriate to try to go to Germany.⁶⁹ Consequently, Jordan indicates that Francis did not want his friars to suffer or to die needlessly. Instead, he wanted the Friars Minor who went on mission to be able to preach penance in a way that had the greatest chance of converting people to orthodox Christianity.

Jordan also states that the friars should not seek persecution or death, but, if it served God's plan, then the friars were permitted to place themselves in harm's way. For example, of the estimated three thousand friars who attended the General Chapter at Assisi in 1221,⁷⁰

⁶⁷ Jordan, 36–7. Chapter 10: “Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disposeret, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus.”

⁶⁸ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: “Et ita tota illa prima missio, quia forte tempus mittendi adhuc non venerat, cum *omnis rei tempus sit sub celo* ad nihilum est deducta.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43–4.

⁶⁹ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: “In fine autem huius capituli, videlicet quando iam capitulum erat terminandum, venit in memoriam beato Francisco, quod ordinis edificatio in Theutonium non venisset.”

⁷⁰ Jordan, 39. Chapter 16: “Anno ergo domini 1221. X. kalendas Junii indictione 14. in sancto die Penthecostes beatus Franciscus apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula celebravit capitulum generale. Ad quod capitulum secundum consuetudinem ordinis que tunc erat, tam professi quam novicii convenerunt et estimati sunt fratres, qui convenerant, ad tria milia.”

only about 90 volunteered to go to Germany,⁷¹ which indicates that the friars were generally not very enthusiastic about putting themselves in danger. Even though he originally had no intention of becoming a member of the mission,⁷² Jordan relented and joined the volunteers as a result of the pressure placed on him by Caesar of Speyer and these men⁷³ and because he was afraid of following his own desires instead of submitting himself to God's will.⁷⁴ In his case, Jordan believed that this pressure was God's way of communicating what He wanted him to do. Even though he was afraid of Italian heretics undermining his faith and Germans physically tormenting him,⁷⁵ Jordan decided to face these dangers, because he was even more afraid of following his will instead of submitting to God's.⁷⁶

Since Jordan was not a witness to the events that he describes for the 1219 missions, these stories convey a sense of how the Friars Minor thought about martyrdom within the order's collective memory. For instance, even though fourteenth-century friars employed the Moroccan martyrs to express their apprehension about the state of the order and its relationship with the Muslim world, as discussed above, Jordan suggests that the early

⁷¹ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: "Et desiderio inflammati surrexerunt circiter 90 fratres morti se offerentes et seorsum, sicut iussi fuerant, secedentes expectabant responsum, qui et quanti, qualiter et quando ire deberent."

⁷² Jordan, 41–2. Chapter 18: "Ire timuit propter Theutonicorum crudelitatem, ne si in passionibus patientiam perderet, in anima periclitaretur." See Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 8. Schlageter describes Jordan as "risk averse" because of his desire to avoid martyrdom.

⁷³ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: "Interim autem cum fratres illi 90 expectarent responsum, datus est minister Theutonicie frater Cesarius Theutonicus de Spirea, ut dictum est, natus, habens potestatem eligendi de illis 90 quos vellet." See Schlageter, "Die *Chronica* des Bruders Jordan von Giano," 8. Schlageter describes Jordan as "risk averse" because of his desire to avoid martyrdom.

⁷⁴ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: "At ille per obedienciam constrictus, cum dubitaret, quid ageret, eligere timuit propter conscienciam, ne si eligeret, voluntatis sue esse videretur."

⁷⁵ Jordan, 40. Chapter 18: "Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumperetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare."

⁷⁶ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: "At ille per obedienciam constrictus, cum dubitaret, quid ageret, eligere timuit propter conscienciam, ne si eligeret, voluntatis sue esse videretur."

thirteenth-century friars were uncertain about their significance for Franciscan identity. The friars' willingness to avoid the subject can be detected in both Jordan's relative ignorance concerning the mission in comparison to his knowledge of the other 1219 missions and in Jordan's depiction of Francis prohibiting the friars from reading the martyrdom accounts.⁷⁷ For this reason, we should be alive to how individuals can sometimes create meaning by forgetting or suppressing an event. In this case, Jordan suggests that the Moroccan martyrs died in circumstances that were not altogether dissimilar from those encountered in Germany and Hungary. Consequently, one might suppose that the Friars Minor saw little meaning in these friars' deaths, at least not in a manner that they considered pertinent to their understanding of Francis' ideals or in the context of Franciscan martyrdom, since their deaths were an anomaly in their experience of mission.

Furthermore, the *Chronica* suggests that not everyone who died in the defense of the Christian faith was classified as a martyr. For example, Jordan reports that, after the Council of Lyons deposed him in 1245, the German emperor Frederick II persecuted and killed many Franciscans and other religious who sided politically with the papacy.⁷⁸ While some observers, such as Salimbene, regarded these men as having given their last breath in defense of their faith,⁷⁹ Jordan portrayed these friars only as obedient servants of the Church.⁸⁰

Furthermore, Jordan's portrayal of these friars appears to be in line with the papal viewpoint,

⁷⁷ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: "Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis ac glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit."

⁷⁸ Jordan, 62; Graham. A. Loud, "The Case of the Missing Martyrs: Frederick II's War with the Church 1239–1250," *Studies in Church History* 30 (1993): 144–7; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 179–80.

⁷⁹ Salimbene, vol. 1, 458–9, 462–3. "Tandem imperator fecit eum capi et decem et octo martyria intulit sibi, que omnia sustinuit patienter; nec aliquid potuerunt carnifices extorquere ab eo nisi laudem divinam."

⁸⁰ Jordan, 62.

since Innocent IV never indicated that these Franciscans were martyrs.⁸¹

Although Jordan only designates as martyrs the five friars who died in Morocco, he indicates that the friars in general could bear persecution for their faith in other ways. Indeed, when Francis chastised his followers for venerating the Moroccan martyrs, Jordan reports that Francis said that each of them should pay more attention to his own tribulations instead of the suffering of others.⁸² In other words, the friars were not to glorify martyrs because each Franciscan was supposed to concern himself only with his own hardships. Interestingly, this suggestion that each friar reflect on his own tribulations—and the resulting question of why God permits him to be afflicted—is the closest that Jordan comes to talking about Franciscan suffering and martyrdom in a spiritual sense. Such an interpretation does not negate the Franciscan perception of how bearing affliction on the physical plane of existence reflected their defense of the Christian faith on the spiritual plane. Indeed, meditating on one's tribulations suggests a reinforcement of the individual's will to endure the suffering and thereby defeat those agents of persecution.

Jordan expresses a similar sentiment about bearing hardship in his story about Nicholas the Humble being raised by Albert of Pisa to the position of custodian of Saxony. In this story, Nicholas tries to refuse the position, since he intimates that taking a position of authority would expose his soul to sin.⁸³ As a friar who holds the position of provincial

⁸¹ Loud, "The Case of the Missing Martyrs," 147–52.

⁸² Jordan, 36. Chapter 8: "Unusquisque de sua et non de aliena passione gloriatur." Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 209, 220–1; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 18. See Heullant-Donat, "Premiers martyrs franciscains," 216–19. Heullant-Donat uses the *Life of Giles* to juxtapose Anthony of Padua and Clare of Assisi's yearning for martyrdom as exemplifying the average friar's yearning for martyrdom against Jordan as epitomizing Francis' ideals not to seek martyrdom.

⁸³ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "Minister vero Erfordiam veniens, vocato ad hoc fratre Jordana, cepit loqui cum fratre Nicolao de officio custodie Saxonie recipiendo. Ipse vera humiliter se excusavit, et se modis omnibus insufficientem

minister for Germany, Albert disagrees with this insinuation. In order to counter Nicholas' assertion, he states that accepting such an appointment is a great burden that enslaves a friar.⁸⁴ In this way, Jordan suggests that positions of authority in the order served as forms of persecution for the friars. Indeed, taking others into his care was one way in which a friar would endanger his soul by accepting the possibility of being tempted by the pride of authority. By enduring such temptation, the friar vanquished this sin and defeated the demons who subjected him to it.

Conclusion

Although recent scholarship portrays thirteenth-century Franciscan martyrdom as involving confrontation by the friar and resulting in his physical death, a closer look at the early Franciscan sources suggests that the Friars Minor in the early to mid thirteenth century conducted a vigorous dialogue as to how martyrdom fit within the order's conception of itself in terms of Franciscan mission. In fact, this chapter suggests that Jordan's *Chronica* characterizes Franciscan martyrdom as a personal form of suffering, one that conforms to early and mid thirteenth-century texts that exhibit the friars undergoing torment. Indeed, these texts portray Franciscan martyrdom in one of two ways. In the first, the Friars Minor grappled with demons, much like Saint Anthony did in Roman-era *passiones*, so as to defend their faith from the devil's temptations. In the second, which one sees in the *Chronica*, the friars bore the brunt of persecution administered by other humans without defending

affirmante, utpote qui etiam nec numerare nec computare sciret nec dominus esse aut prelatus." Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 190; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

⁸⁴ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "[D]ixit ei: 'Nescis ergo dominus esse dominus? Numquid ergo domini sumus, qui officia ordinis tenemus? Dic, ergo, frater, cito culpam tuam, quod officia ordinis, que magis onera et servitutes dici possunt, dominia et prelationes reputasti.'"

themselves. If this ill treatment became unbearable, then the friars were to escape to another locale.

Indeed, some scholars utilize Arnold of Sarrant's late fourteenth-century *passiones* as an accurate description of how five friars were killed in Morocco in 1220 or of how the Friars Minor operated in Islamic lands. However, this interpretation of the friars antagonizing Muslims in order to compel the latter to kill them is not supported by the early to mid thirteenth-century texts. Indeed, as noted above, Arnold's *passiones* reflect tensions between the order's Spirituals and Conventuals, groups that did not exist until the late thirteenth century, long after Jordan composed his *Chronica*. Furthermore, these *passiones* evince an increasing realization that Muslims were not going to convert to Christianity, while Christians in the 1200s still maintained the hope that Muslims would wholeheartedly embrace Catholicism. When Arnold's presentations of Franciscan missions in Muslim lands as stressing antagonism between the friars and Muslims is contextualized within Roman *passiones* that are interpreted in a manner that emphasizes martyrdom as violent death at the hands of a physical enemy while in defense of one's faith, this framework serves to underscore the conception of martyrdom only as individuals earning a spiritual reward in exchange for giving up their corporeal bodies so as to exhibit their commitment to their beliefs. However, such an analysis fails to take into account a spiritual explanation that is implicit within many of the Roman martyrdom accounts. An elucidation of the spiritual nature of these *passiones* underscores how Christian martyrs fought for Christ by accepting any torture—even death—visited on them. An inherent feature of these *passiones* is that demons used humans to administer these tribulations, even if the humans were unaware that they served as the demons' agents. In this way, the early and mid thirteenth-century texts that

portray Franciscan martyrdom in a spiritual manner align more readily with this interpretation of Roman martyrdom narratives than with an explanation that defines martyrdom in terms of the violent death of the martyr.

While the thirteenth-century texts concerning Franciscan martyrdom are sparse, the concept nonetheless acquired increasing significance as a matter of organizational identity for the Friars Minor. Franciscan authors built a mystical interpretation on a well-founded tradition of spiritual battle, wherein friars defended their souls and their eternal salvation from the constant predations of demons who endeavored to weaken the friars' resolve through physical torment. Such torment underscored the Christian dichotomy between the weakness of the sinful flesh and the strength of the soul. Furthermore, Jordan's portrayal of how the Friars Minor suffered tribulation while on mission is consistent with these presentations of Franciscan martyrdom as spiritual defense of an individual's faith. Indeed, even though Jordan does not mention the devil or demons, he shows that the friars suffered. In effect, he is implying to his readers that their tribulations are physical manifestations of their state of spiritual combat.

CHAPTER 5: EARLY-THIRTEENTH CENTURY FRANCISCAN MISSION: CONFRONTATIONAL OR CONFESSIONAL INTERPRETATIONS

As we have seen, in the *Chronica*, Jordan shares stories about missions to Christians (in Spain, France, Germany, and Hungary) and to Muslims (in Morocco and in Egypt), and he indicates that the friars suffered persecution or death at the hands of these groups. Given the manner in which people treated the friars, it is easy to suppose that the Franciscans antagonized their audiences—especially if they were Muslims—in order to be killed as martyrs. Such notions seem particularly plausible when Jordan's tales are read in conjunction with similar ones found in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* and in Arnold of Sarrant's fourteenth-century *passiones*, since these texts indicate that the Friars Minor traveled to Muslim lands in order to die for their faith. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, the thirteenth-century sources do not support a portrayal of the friars engendering conflict for the purpose of dying as martyrs. Consequently, it is useful to explore more closely the manner in which the *Chronica* portrays the friars' demeanor when they went on mission.

As noted at the beginning of Chapter 4, that chapter and this one address the interrelated subjects of Franciscan martyrdom and Franciscan mission. While the previous chapter concentrates on the thirteenth-century conception of Franciscan martyrdom, it is nonetheless within the context of Franciscan mission. By the same token, this chapter focuses on Franciscan mission, but considers the idea of Franciscan martyrdom within the mission context. Generally speaking, these two areas of experience are comparable in that the conceptions of mission and martyrdom consist of sending a group of friars to other—often distant—lands for the purpose of converting the inhabitants of these regions to the Franciscan

interpretations of orthodox Christianity. In their depictions of mission, the friars were to live among the locals, to exhibit the Franciscan ideal through their actions, and to preach the Gospel to crowds. Meanwhile, in some of their portrayals of martyrdom, we are told that the friars attempted conversion by expounding on the true nature of orthodox Christianity and by forcefully condemning the convictions of people with heretical or non-Christian beliefs until these individuals killed the friars; in this way, the martyrs were able to convince others of the truth of their doctrine through these antagonistic activities and through their willingness to die for their faith. Overall, then the value in investigating the nature of mission lies in the manner in which the Friars Minor used this to formulate expressions of Franciscan identity.

Indeed, most scholarship during the last fifty or so years portrays Franciscan missions in the first half of the thirteenth century in two different ways depending on whether the missions were sent to Christian lands or to Islamic. Scholars often represent the friars who endeavored to evangelize heterodox Christians as preaching in the vernacular¹ in plazas and churches,² as appealing to the audiences' emotions so as to explicate Scripture or to exhort the laity to practice penance,³ and as submitting to the authority of others.⁴ If these scholars

¹ Louis-Jacques Bataillon, "La Predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale," in *La Prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie: Etudes et documents* (Brookfield, Vermont: Variorum, 1993), XII: 692; Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 275–6.

² Bataillon, "La Predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti," XII: 692; Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor in the Thirteenth Century," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson, *The Medieval Franciscans* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 274, 276, 278.

³ Anscar Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching and of Franciscan Preachers (1209–1927) a Bio-bibliographical Study* (New York: J. F. Wagner, 1928), 242–70; Etienne Delaruelle, "L'influence de Saint François d'Assise sur la piété populaire," in *Relazioni del X Congresso internazionale di scienze storiche*, International Congress of Historical Sciences (Firenze: G. D. Sansoni, 1955), 455–6; Daniel R. Lesnick, *Preaching in Medieval Florence: The Social World of Franciscan and Dominican Spirituality* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 134–71; Bataillon, "Prédication des Séculiers aux laïcs au XIII^e siècle,"

in *La Prédication au XIII^e siècle en France et Italie*, XIII: 460–3; Beverly Mayne Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons and their Performance: Theory and Record," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Boston, Mass.: Brill, 2002), 105, 108–9; Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 275, 278–80, 285; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 50–2; Timothy J. Johnson, "Franciscan Bodies and Souls:

do mention missions to Muslim lands, they concentrate on Francis' attempt to preach to the sultan as an example of the friars' commitment to the process of converting others to orthodox Christianity.⁵ However, some scholars also depict Franciscans who went to proselytize Muslims as attempting to convert Muslims by denouncing Mohammad and Islamic law so as to coerce the Muslims into killing the friars as martyrs in defense of their faith.⁶

In this chapter, we suggest that Jordan's *Chronica* portrays Franciscan mission, even to Muslim lands, as encouraging the friars toward non-confrontational proselytization and prompted evangelization as a path to salvation for the friars. By exploring this subject, we can illuminate Jordan's conception of Franciscan mission within the *Chronica* as it functioned as an expression of Franciscan identity. To examine this further, it is useful to examine thirteenth-century characterizations of Franciscan conduct to see whether they cultivated a demeanor of humility and submission or one of hostility. Additionally, we can investigate whether the friars' sermons and behavior on mission were hortatory or condemnatory. Finally, we need to investigate how Jordan and other early thirteenth-century authors depicted Francis' journey to Egypt as an example of Franciscan missionary

Bonaventure and Bacon on Scripture, Preaching, and the *Cura Corporis/Cura Animae*," in *Franciscans and Preaching: Every Miracle from the Beginning of the World Came about through Words*, ed. Timothy J. Johnson, *The Medieval Franciscans* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 75–89; Krijn Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue: Spiritual Growth and the Virtues in Franciscan Literature and Instruction of the Thirteenth Century* (Boston: Brill, 2012), 52, 183, 193–5; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 145–50.

⁴ Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 280, 282, 287–9, 295; Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue*, 115, 143–4; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 63–5.

⁵ Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 285–6.

⁶ Ryan, "Missionary Saints of the High Middle Ages": 7–10; Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1395–7; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 144–5; Heullant-Donat, "La perception des premiers martyrs," 211–20; McMichael, "Francis and the Encounter with the Sultan," MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World": 1–23; Burr, "A Time to Live, a Time to Die": 411–28; Heullant-Donat, "Martyrdom and Identity": 429–53.

evangelism.

Francis' Depiction of the Friars' Demeanor when They Went on Mission

To be sure, Jordan does portray tension between friars, such as when Provincial Minister Albert of Pisa commanded Nicholas the Humble to accept the office of custodian of Saxony. In this tale, Nicholas refused the appointment and hinted that the friars who served in positions of authority were akin to nobles and prelates. However, Albert quickly reprimanded Nicholas in a manner that compelled the friar to submit to Albert's authority and to humbly accept the position.⁷ It might help, then, to investigate the thirteenth-century texts to see whether they suggest that the friars who went on mission were encouraged to challenge the authority of other people or were urged to submit themselves to that authority. To approach this topic, we need to investigate Francis' counsel to the friars in his writings regarding the manner in which the friars were to conduct themselves, how other Franciscans interpreted Francis' writings on this subject, and how the Franciscan concept of submission affected those friars who went on mission to Muslim lands.

To determine what Francis thought about how the friars were to conduct themselves when proselytizing Muslims, scholars look to the *Rule of 1221*—not the *Rule of 1223*—since the earlier *Rule* contains more extensive language on this topic than does the later *Rule*. For example, the *Rule of 1223* states only that it was at the provincial ministers' discretion to determine whether or not a friar who wanted to go on a mission to Muslim lands was suitable for the endeavor.⁸ As a result, the *Rule of 1223* provides no advice or counsel for friars who

⁷ Jordan, 53–4. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

⁸ *Regula bullata*, 237.

wanted to go on mission to Muslim lands or on what guidelines the provincial ministers might base their judgment. However, even though Francis addressed this subject in the *Rule of 1221*, his guidance is sufficiently vague that it can be interpreted as encouraging the friars to act in a hostile manner toward Muslims. Indeed, by placing the *Rule of 1221* within the context of Arnold's *passiones*, some historians contend that the very act of evangelizing led *per se* to the friars being killed as martyrs.⁹ For example, Christopher MacEvitt maintains that Francis' counsel in this *Rule* led to martyrdom, because it emboldened the friars to become indifferent to the body's fate.¹⁰ In the same vein, John Tolan contends that the founder urged the friars to seek martyrdom in Islamic lands and that Francis' act of dispatching the friars to evangelize people in distant places was analogous to Christ sending out the Apostles, an act that must necessarily end in martyrdom. In Tolan's analogy, Francis exhorted the friars toward an inevitable martyrdom just as the Apostles took the Message of Christ. As evidence of this interpretation, he lists several places in Islamic regions during the thirteenth century wherein friars received the martyrs' palm: five in Morocco in 1220, ten in Ceuta in 1227, five in Marrakesh in 1232, ten in the Near East between 1265 and 1269, and seven in Tripoli in 1289.¹¹ However, this correlation is tenuous at best, since the thirteenth-century texts report that the friars were in Islamic lands when they were killed, but they omit

⁹ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 6–9; Heullant-Donat, “La perception des premiers martyrs,” 211–20; McMichael, “Francis and the Encounter with the Sultan (1219),” 127–42; MacEvitt, “Martyrdom and the Muslim World”: 1–23; Burr, “Angelo Clareno on Martyrdom”: 411–28; Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity”: 429–53; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

¹⁰ MacEvitt, “Martyrdom and the Muslim World”: 7–11.

¹¹ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 8–9; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4; Whalen, “Corresponding with Infidels”: 494–5. Even though Tolan acknowledges that the *passiones* were composed after 1360, he treats these texts as if they preserve perceptions current in the 1220s. As a result, he portrays the very act of Franciscan mission to Muslims in the thirteenth century as confrontational. Indeed, he argues that he does not doubt the veracity of Arnold's *passiones* despite their hagiographical excesses. Indeed, he uses the account in these fourteenth-century *passiones* to describe how the friars antagonized Muslims (by profaning mosques, the Islamic faith, the prophet Muhammad, and the Quran) in 1220.

the context in which the friars died.

The language of the *Rule of 1221* is clear in that it advised the friars that they could utilize one of two different methods for evangelizing in Islamic lands; however, it is the interpretation of how Francis characterized these two procedures that complicates the scholarly discussion. In the first of the practices described in the *Rule*, those friars evangelizing in Muslim lands were to refrain from engaging in any arguments or disputes but instead were to remain subject to the authority of others. These friars were to do nothing more than confess their identity as Christians and live in an orthodox manner, and, as a result, this passive course of action permitted the friars to accentuate their humility and obedience and act as Christian role models for Muslims to imitate so as to lead them to Christianity.¹² It is possible that the presence of these restrictions and reminders concerning this course of action and their absence in the second procedure, to be discussed below, creates an erroneous juxtaposition. After all, it is natural to suppose that because Francis discouraged the friars from confrontation when passively modeling orthodox Christian behavior, he might then encourage them to act in an aggressive or hostile manner when actively preaching Christian doctrine.

The *Rule*'s second method for evangelizing Muslims is more problematic, since the language is unclear despite being more expansive. For instance, this procedure requires that the friars were to share the Word of God with nonbelievers so as to teach them the tenets and ritual practices of orthodox Christianity and to have them baptized in the faith.¹³ Even though

¹² *Regula non bullata*, 268. "Unus modus est, quod non faciant lites neque contentiones, sed sint subditi *omni humanae creaturae propter Deum* et confiteantur se esse christianos."

¹³ *Regula non bullata*, 268–9. "Alius modus est, quod, cum viderint placere Domino, annuntient verbum Dei, ut credant Deum omnipotentem Patrem et Filium et Spiritum Sanctum, creatorem omnium, redemptorem et salvatorem Filium, et ut baptizentur et efficiantur christiani, quia *quis renatus non fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest intrare in regnum Dei*." MacEvitt, "Martyrdom and the Muslim World": 6–8.

this portion of the *Rule* does not explicitly state that the friars could antagonize their audiences, the text is often interpreted in this manner. For example, this *modus operandi*, according to Tolan, involved sharing the Gospels and Christian doctrine, which could be performed either by informing others about Christianity in a calm and civil manner or by disputing the other person's beliefs in a disrespectful way, and Tolan contends that the friars who were killed in Morocco utilized this hostile method.¹⁴

However, Francis includes some Scripture to elucidate his ideas about both of these methods in the *Rule of 1221*, and these Biblical passages indicate that the founder conceived of Franciscan mission as non-confrontational. The first few passages that Francis wrote seem to reinforce MacEvitt and Tolan's arguments, since they suggest that the friars were to suffer persecution, even death for their activities. For example, the *Rule* charges the friars to renounce the corporeal form, to lose one's life (Luke 9:24 ["For whosoever will save his life, shall lose it; for he that shall lose his life for my sake, shall save it"] and Matthew 25:46 ["And these shall go into everlasting punishment: but the just, into life everlasting"]), to undergo torture (Matthew 5:10 ["Blessed are they that suffer persecution for justice' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"]), to suffer persecution (John 15:20 ["Remember my word that I said to you: The servant is not greater than his master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you: if they have kept my word, they will keep yours also"]); and to tolerate slander (Matthew 5:11 ["Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake"]).¹⁵ All of these passages indicate that a Christian who accepts tribulation (whether physical or verbal) and death

¹⁴ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 7–11; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

¹⁵ *Regula non bullata*, 270.

without renouncing his or her faith will receive a place in Heaven; however, none of these passages suggest that the Christian should instigate such adversity, since they are expressed in terms of hostility on the part of the persecutors but of passivity on the part of the persecuted.

The next few Biblical passages further suggest that we might benefit from a non-confrontational interpretation of this second practice, since they indicate that the friars should bear persecution through patience or take flight to avoid it. These selections from the Gospels command friars who suffer these adversities to bear them (Matthew 10:25 [“It is enough for the disciple that he be as his master, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the goodman of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household?”], Matthew 5:11 [“Blessed are ye when they shall revile you, and persecute you, and speak all that is evil against you, untruly, for my sake”], and Luke 6:22 [“Blessed shall you be when men shall hate you, and when they shall separate you, and shall reproach you, and cast out your name as evil, for the Son of man’s sake”]) and to maintain patience (Luke 21:9 [“And when you shall hear of wars and seditions, be not terrified: these things must first come to pass; but the end is not yet presently”], Matthew 10:22 [“And you shall be hated by all men for my name’s sake: but he that shall persevere unto the end, he shall be saved”], Matthew 24:6 [“And you shall hear of wars and rumours of wars. See that ye be not troubled. For these things must come to pass, but the end is not yet”], and Matthew 24:13 [“But he that shall persevere to the end, he shall be saved”]).¹⁶ Admittedly, it is possible that some friars made the indirect association asserted by Tolan, that those friars who went to Muslim lands were being sent to their deaths; however, the Scriptural passages in the *Rule of 1221* do not encourage the friars

¹⁶ *Regula non bullata*, 270–1.

to act in an aggressive manner in order to achieve those deaths. In fact, while these excerpts mention the possibility of death, it is solely within the context of counseling the friars to accept such hostility submissively.

A broader look at Francis' writings indicates that he emphasized that the friars were to adopt an attitude of submission to all others. For example, building upon 1 Peter 2:13 ("Be ye subject therefore to every human creature for God's sake: whether it be to the king as excelling"), he wrote in his "Later Admonition and Exhortation to the Brothers and Sisters of Penance" that the friars should be servants to all people and never desire to be superior to anyone,¹⁷ a sentiment that he repeated in the "Admonitions"¹⁸ and in the *Rule of 1221* with his counsel that a minister should provide for those in his care in the same way that that minister would want to a superior friar to provide for him if their roles were reversed.¹⁹ Additionally, Francis cautioned the friars that he did not want anyone to take the title of "prior" but that all Franciscans should be called "lesser brothers."²⁰ This designation was meant to emphasize the friars' position of submission in relation to hierarchies and within society in general. Francis also stressed this point in the *Rule of 1223*, by exhorting the friars

¹⁷ Francis, "Epistola ad Fideles II," *OSPFA*, 122. 1 Peter 2:13: "Numquam debemus desiderare esse super alios, sed magis debemus esse servi et subditi *omni humanae creaturae propter Deum*."

¹⁸ Francis, "Admonitiones," *OSPFA*, 65, 75. "[Cap. IV: Ut nemo appropriet sibi praelationem]: *Non veni ministrari, sed ministrare*, dicit Dominus. Illi qui sunt super alios constituti, tantum de illa praelatione gloriantur, quantum si essent in abluendi fratrum pedes officio deputati. Et quanto magis turbantur de ablata sibi praelatione quam de pedum officio, tanto magis sibi *oculos* ad periculum animae componunt" and "[Cap. XIX: De humili servo Dei]: Beatus servus, qui non tenet se meliorem, quando magnificatur et exaltatur ab hominibus, sicuti quando tenetur vilis, simplex et despectus, quia quantum est homo coram Deo, tantum est et non plus. Vae illi religioso, qui ab aliis positus est in alto et per suam voluntatem non vult descendere. Et *beatus ille servus*, qui non per suam voluntatem ponitur in alto et semper desiderat esse sub pedibus aliorum."

¹⁹ *Regula non bullata*, 252–3. "Minister vero taliter eis studeat providere, sicut ipse vellet sibi fieri, si in consimili casu esset."

²⁰ *Regula non bullata*, 253. "Et nullus vocetur prior, sed generaliter omnes vocentur fratres minores. Et alter alterius lavet pedes."

to guard themselves against pride and arrogance and instead to bear persecution and slander with patience and humility.²¹ Indeed, the friars were to treat their persecutors with love and prayer, much as Christ did during the Passion.²² In this way, we see that Francis' writings suggest that it might be helpful to look at the Franciscan conception of submission rather than at the Apostles' martyrdoms as the key to interpreting Francis' guidelines in the *Rule of 1221* regarding how the friars were to conduct themselves during mission.

Several mid thirteenth-century texts repeat and underscore this interpretation that the friars were to submit themselves to everyone else's will. In his commentary on the *Rule*, Hugh of Digne wrote sometime between 1245 and 1255 that the founder cautioned the friars not to become annoyed or angry because of another person's sins or bad example, because the devil used this reaction to corrupt others.²³ Moreover, he wrote that Francis wanted the friars to serve and to obey each other,²⁴ or, rather, to submit themselves to each other's

²¹ *Regula bullata*, 235. "Moneo vero et exhortor in Domino Jesu Christo, ut caveant fratres *ab omni* superbia, vana gloria, invidia, *avaritia*, cura et sollicitudine huius saeculi, detractio, et murmuratione." See Pansters, *Franciscan Virtue*, 112–16. In his explorations of Francis' interpretation of humility, Pansters writes, "The Spirit of the Lord strives for humility and patience, the pure, simple, and true peace of the spirit. The brothers should be loving and humble towards each other and towards others, in particular when being tested and corrected or persecuted, and especially when they are priests and ministers."

²² *Regula bullata*, 236. "[S]ed attendant, quod super omnia, desiderare debent habere Spiritum Domini et sanctam eius operationem, orare semper ad eum puro corde et habere humilitatem, patientiam in persecutione et infirmitate et diligere eos qui nos persequuntur et reprehendunt et arguunt, quia dicit Dominus: *Diligite inimicos vestros et orate pro persequentibus et calumniantibus vos. Beati qui persecutionem patiuntur propter iustitiam, quoniam ipsorum est regnum caelorum. Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem hic salvus erit.*"

²³ Hugh of Digne, "Fragmenta expositioni Regulae OFM fratris Hugonis de Dinia inserta," *OSPFA*, 175. "*Sic Sanctus in Regula originali dicebat: Caveant fratres omnes tam ministri quam alii, quod propter peccatum alterius vel malum exemplum non conturbentur vel irascantur, quia diabolus propter peccatum unius multos vult corrumpere, sed spiritualiter, sicut possunt, adiuvent illum, qui peccaverit, quia non est opus sanis medicus, sed iis qui male habent.*" Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 81–6, 91–6; Landini, *Clericalization*, 81–4, 97, 99, 124, 129, 135.

²⁴ Hugh of Digne, "Fragmenta expositioni Regulae," *OSPFA*, 175–6. ". . . sic Sanctus ante bullam eos in Regula hortabatur: Per caritatem spiritus voluntarie serviant et obediant invicem. Haec est, ait, vera et segura obedientia Domini nostri Jesu Christi." Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 81–6, 91–6; Landini, *Clericalization*, 81–4, 97, 99, 124, 129, 135.

authority. In the *Life of Saint Francis*, Thomas of Celano refined the concept of Franciscan submission as one in which the friars should want to be held in contempt by others, since the friars' acceptance of scorn served to assure the friars' humility.²⁵ One of the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* reinforced this idea by writing that, even when Francis held a position of authority over the order, he nonetheless appointed a friar to have sovereignty over him, someone whom Francis obeyed implicitly just as the Friars Minor carried out Francis' commands.²⁶ In this way, the sources indicate that the friars—even Francis himself—were to submit to others.

Admittedly, these passages are either generic in their point of view or distinctly refer to friars in Christian lands and within Christian political and social structures; however, a confrontational attitude, regardless of whether presented toward believers or nonbelievers, would imply a sense of superiority over others. Indeed, for a friar to confront a Muslim would suggest pride, since the friar has placed himself in a higher position than the Muslim based on the righteousness of his faith. The texts, however, suggest that Francis placed all others—including lepers, who were considered spiritually unclean—above himself and his friars.²⁷ If the friars were to debase themselves with individuals considered spiritually unclean within Christendom, why would the friars treat Muslims differently in this regard?

To be sure, a humble demeanor on the friars' part did not shield the friars from

²⁵ 1 Celano, 30. "Et vere minores, qui 'omnibus subditi' existentes, semper quaerebant locum vilitatis, et officium exercere, et in quo quaedam fore iniuria videretur, ut sic in solido verae humilitatis fundari mererentur, ut felici dispositione in eis consurgeret omnium virtutum fabrica spiritalis."

²⁶ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 131. "Cumque omnibus fratribus esset sublimior, unum tamen de fratribus secum morantibus constituebat guardianum suum et dominum, cui, ut effugaret a se omnem occasionem superbiae, obediebat humiliter et devote."

²⁷ 1 Celano, 16. "Deinde vero totius humilitatis sanctus amator se transtulit ad leprosos, eratque cum eis, diligentissime serviens omnibus propter Deum, et lavans putredinem omnem ab eis, ulcerum etiam saniem extergebat."

persecution. For instance, Jordan's thirteenth-century *Chronica* and Arnold's fourteenth-century long version of the *Life of Blessed Giles* suggest that friars on an evangelizing mission could easily be killed by the local population for reasons that had nothing to do with hostility on the friars' part. In the *Chronica*, Jordan recounts that friars on the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary suffered persecution based on misunderstandings about the friars' intent because of a language barrier. In his narrative, Jordan describes the friars as acting passively toward the native population as the friars attempted to acquire food and shelter in Germany and Hungary. However, as soon as the locals thought that the friars might be heretics, they imprisoned them, made them parade naked through their towns, or intimidated them with the prospect of violence. In the end, the friars returned to Italy with horror stories for their confreres.²⁸ If Christians in European lands could mistreat the Franciscans because the locals misunderstood the friars' intentions, it is equally possible that Muslims in their own lands might abuse the friars because they misinterpreted the actions and words of the Friars Minor.

Additionally, the long version of the *Life of Blessed Giles* relates that Francis' companion Giles was almost murdered in Tunis without having preached a word before the violence began. According to this *vita*, Francis sent Giles and a few other friars to Tunis to preach the Gospel to Muslims,²⁹ and, they were joined along the way by a holy man who preferred to listen to the friars rather than to talk to them.³⁰ At an unstated point in time, the man began to

²⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5 (1219 mission to Germany): "Videntes ergo fratres, quod fructum in Theutonia facere non possent, in Italiam sunt reversi. Ex quo facto Theutonia a fratribus tam crudelis est reputata, ut ad ipsam nisi desiderio martirii inspirati redire non auderent." Chapter 6 (1219 mission to Hungary): "Hiis et aliis pluribus contumeliis affecti in Italiam sunt reversi."

²⁹ *Generalium*, 78. "Interea sanctus Franciscus, gregem suum ampliari prospiciens, cupiebat causa praedicationis fratres aliquos mittere ad Saracenos et alios infideles, et ut pro confessione fidei, si foret necessitas, morerentur."

³⁰ *Generalium*, 78. "Qui cum Tunicium civitatem Saracenorum devenisset, quidam Saracenus inter eos reputatus sanctissimus, qui ante diu tacuerat . . ."

preach to his fellow Muslims that the friars had come “to condemn our prophet and our law”³¹ and exhorted his followers to kill the friars.³² During the night, local Christians compelled the friars to board a ship so that the Muslims could not slaughter the friars.³³ However, when a group of Muslim Tunisians thronged to the port to kill the missionaries,³⁴ the friars began preaching to the Muslims in an effort to convert them to the Christian faith. Although the friars were willing to die for their faith, they desisted only because the local Christians impeded the friars from their efforts to die as martyrs.³⁵

Just as with Jordan’s representation of the friars who entered Germany and Hungary, Arnold portrays Giles and his companions as having acted in a passive manner. While the Islamic holy man stated the friars had come “to condemn our prophet and our law,”³⁶ we should consider this assertion as mere rhetoric on the man’s part so as to incite his fellow Muslims, since the text indicates that the friars had not yet spoken publicly. Even though the narrator states that the friars were unafraid of death once they had arrived at the safety of the ship,³⁷ he nonetheless shows the men as attempting to escape harm,³⁸ just as some of the

³¹ *Generalium*, 78. “. . . coepit praedicare et vociferando dicere Saracenis: ‘Venerunt ad nos homines infideles, qui volunt prophetam nostrum et legem, quam per eum reperimus, condemnare.’”

³² *Generalium*, 78. “‘Consulo ergo, quod omnes gladiis et mortibus supponatis.’”

³³ *Generalium*, 78. “Christiani, qui ibi aderant, apud quos frater Aegidius cum aliis fratribus morabatur, ex hoc mori timentes, ipsos fratres illo sero navem reintrare fecerunt violenter, nec eos eum Saracenis loqui vel ad ipsos accedere permiserunt.”

³⁴ *Generalium*, 78. “Mane autem facto Saraceni eum impetu ad portum, ut fratres capereat, cucurrerunt.”

³⁵ *Generalium*, 78. “Fratres vero contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Christianorum eis de navi praedicabant et, ut converterentur ad Christum, audacter hortabantur. Spiritu enim Dei ferventes et divino igne succensi, mori pro fide nimium affectabant. Videntes autem, quod Christianis impredientibus illud, pro quo venerant, non poterant adimplere, reversi sunt ad beatum Franciscum.”

³⁶ *Generalium*, 78. “. . . coepit praedicare et vociferando dicere Saracenis: ‘Venerunt ad nos homines infideles, qui volunt prophetam nostrum et legem, quam per eum reperimus, condemnare.’”

³⁷ *Generalium*, 78. “Fratres vero contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Christianorum eis de navi praedicabant et, ut converterentur ad Christum, audacter hortabantur. Spiritu enim Dei ferventes et divino igne succensi, mori pro fide

Biblical passages cited in the *Rule of 1221* advised. When the narrator finally presents Giles and his companions as delivering sermons from their ship, the narrator describes these sermons as hortatory,³⁹ meant to convince the Muslims to convert to Christianity. In fact, the narrator says nothing about the friars reviling Islam, Islamic law, Mohammad, or the Quran. Although Jordan does not furnish information about how the five friars conducted themselves in Morocco, this section's exploration of the biblical passages in the *Rule of 1221*'s chapter on mission and Jordan's narratives about the other 1219 missions indicate that, in Jordan's estimation, these friars would have been encouraged to avoid confrontation with any person by accepting any tribulations that came the friars' way.

The Friars' Sermons and Conduct while on Mission in the Early Thirteenth Century

Although Jordan provides the barest descriptions of the friars' sermons, largely stating that they preached to crowds of clergy and laity, he does suggest that the Friars Minor were successful when they established a cordial relationship between themselves and their audiences.⁴⁰ In the scholarship, Jacques Le Goff asserts that the friars largely employed *exempla* in their sermons, so as to illustrate orthodox beliefs and practices for the laity.⁴¹ In this section, it is argued that the *Chronica* and other thirteenth-century texts indicate that

nimum affectabant. Videntes autem, quod Christianis impediuntibus illud, pro quo venerant, non poterant adimplere, reversi sunt ad beatum Franciscum.”

³⁸ *Generalium*, 78. “Christiani, qui ibi aderant, apud quos frater Aegidius cum aliis fratribus morabatur, ex hoc mori timentes, ipsos fratres illo sero navem reintrare fecerunt violenter, nec eos cum Saracenis loqui vel ad ipsos accedere permiserunt.”

³⁹ *Generalium*, 78. “Fratres vero contra voluntatem et prohibitionem Christianorum eis de navi praedicabant et, ut converterentur ad Christum, audacter hortabantur.”

⁴⁰ Jordan, 36, 43–4, 48, 50.

⁴¹ Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 191–3.

friars who evangelized in Muslim lands were urged to deliver sermons that encouraged others in a non-confrontational manner to convert to orthodox Christianity. To approach this topic, it might be helpful to investigate thirteenth-century Franciscan sermons to determine the friars' sermon style; explore papal bulls and other documents responding to the friars' questions as to how they should handle problems in Muslim lands; and examine whether or not confrontation was the only known cause of friars' deaths while proselytizing in distant lands.

The few surviving examples of early thirteenth-century Franciscan sermons indicate that the Friars Minor utilized a hortatory, not antagonistic, style even when preaching to those who did not share their orthodox beliefs. For example, Anthony of Padua, who was known as the Hammer of the Heretics for his ability to confound some heretics and to bring others back to orthodoxy, wrote outlines on homilies as examples that other friars could use for their sermons. These outlines include sermons to be delivered on Sundays and on feast days, and each one explores a particular topic of orthodox doctrine without mentioning or attacking the ideas of his opponents.⁴² Although we do not have any of Francis' sermons, descriptions of the founder's preaching tactics follow this strategy of sharing proper belief that leads toward salvation rather than criticizing or condemning the other person's improper beliefs.⁴³ In this way, these texts suggest that the Friars Minor favored sermons that explained Catholic doctrine instead of vilifying heterodox beliefs.

Although early thirteenth-century Franciscan texts are more concerned with the manner

⁴² Marcil, *Sermones for the Easter Cycle*, 40–54; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 58–60, 71.

⁴³ Zawart, *The History of Franciscan Preaching*, 242–4; Franco Cardini, "Aspetti ludici, scenici e spettacolari della predicazione francescana," *Storia della Città* 26–27 (1983): 53–4; Casciani, "Sacred Oratory and Audience," 247–50; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 18–21.

in which the friars evangelized within a Christian European context, papal bulls provide an indication as to how the Friars Minor addressed the laity in Muslim lands. Although Honorius III' bulls *Vineae Domini custodes* (1225) and *Ex parte vestra* (1226) only incidentally speak to the Franciscans' style of preaching, they do deal with the manner in which the Friars Minor carried out their ministries in Muslim lands. For his part, Tolan characterizes *Vineae Domini custodes* as authorizing mission by the mendicant orders to the Almohad caliphate;⁴⁴ however, the bull should be read as granting apostolic privileges to friars who were already in the kingdom of Miramamolín. For example, since Honorius had approved Franciscan authority to send missions to Muslim lands in the *Rule of 1223*, *Vineae Domini custodes* serves to inform its readers that the pontiff was responding to difficulties faced by friars in Islamic regions. The bull's essential concern was to provide these friars with the privilege of imposing excommunication on or absolving anyone in the region. That the pope mentions the friars' *modus operandi* in these lands—namely to use preaching to convert people from Islam to Christians, to bring errant Christians back into orthodoxy, and to minister to Christians in non-Christian lands—serves to underscore the advantageousness of this privilege in the work that they already performed. Although the bull uses language that indicates sacrifice, this wording is a trope referring to personal sacrifice for the benefit of the faith. For instance, Honorius states that the sacrifice that God considered to be the most pleasing to Him was the acquisition of other souls.⁴⁵ Indeed, at no point does the bull mention or condone confrontation as an aspect of Franciscan mission or chastise friars for

⁴⁴ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 10; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4; Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 59–60, 67.

⁴⁵ Honorius III, “*Vineae Domini* (1225),” in *BF*, 24. “Attendentes igitur, quod abnegantes vos ipsos animas vestras pro Christo ponere cupitis, ut lucri faciatis sibi animas aliorum; eo quod nullum sacrificium Deo constat esse acceptius, quam lucrum quaerere animarum: vos in Regnum Miramolini Sedis Apostolicae transmittit auctoritas; ut evangelizantes illic Dominum Jesum Christum, quantum ipse dederit, convertatis incredulos, erigatis lapsos, sustentetis debiles, pusillanimes consolemini, et fortes nihilominus consortetis.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 67.

antagonistic methods in Islamic lands. Instead, the bull portrays the friars as caring for the local community of Christians, a task that would be easier to perform with good relations between the Christian minority and the Muslim authorities and populace.

Similarly, Honorius used the bull *Ex parte vestra* to give the friars in Muslim lands an additional privilege to make their work easier. Regarding this text, Tolan asserts that the pope promulgated *Ex parte vestra* so as to admonish the friars for confrontation or in order to attempt to rectify the friars' antagonistic behaviors.⁴⁶ However, the opening sentence of the bull, "from your part it was proposed"⁴⁷ makes clear that the friars communicated the difficulties they faced in Islamic regions so that the pontiff could provide them with some relief. In this bull, Honorius recognized that the friars often had trouble begging for food in Muslim lands because the people had no bread to give.⁴⁸ In these cases, the pontiff permitted the friars to disobey their *Rule* by accepting and handling money, so that they could acquire the nourishment that they required. Moreover, Honorius acknowledged that the friars' work was more easily accomplished by growing facial hair so as to avoid cruelty visited on Christians.⁴⁹ Although the bull does not expatiate on the context of this cruelty, the fact that the friars sought to avoid it through the artifice of growing facial hair indicates that they were

⁴⁶ Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 10; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

⁴⁷ Honorius III, "Ex parte vestra (1226)," in *BF*, 26. "Ex parte vestra fuit propositum coram Nobis, quod cum ad mandatum Sedis Apostolicae voluntarie vos discrimini obtuleritis, ob multorum salutem provido usi consilio interdum mutatis habitum, barbam nutritis, et comam." Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 67.

⁴⁸ Honorius III, "Ex parte vestra (1226)," 26. "Cumque in Terra illa gratis non possitis victualia invenire, pro eo quod no panis, sed pecunia consuevit ibidem pauperibus in subsidium erogari, urgens necessitas vos compellit caritative recipere, sed parce denarios, et expendere tantummodo propter cibum, et vestes." Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 67.

⁴⁹ Honorius III, "Ex parte vestra (1226)," 26. "Ex parte vestra fuit propositum coram Nobis, quod cum ad mandatum Sedis Apostolicae voluntarie vos discrimini obtuleritis, ob multorum salutem provido usi consilio interdum mutatis habitum, barbam nutritis, et comam; non tam ad declinandum ad tempus gentis barbarae feritatem, quae in Christianos crudelius debacchatur." Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 67.

conducting themselves in a non-hostile manner. As we can see, this bull was not written to reprimand the friars but instead to respond to their requests for privileges so as to enable them to survive in harsh conditions. In fact, the friars' desire to integrate with Muslim society in North Africa suggests that they were practicing non-confrontational missionary work in Islamic lands.

Likewise, Ramon à Penyafort's *Responses to Questions Concerning Relations between Christians and Saracens* indicates that Franciscan and Dominican friars in Tunisia endeavored to minister to many different Christian communities within Islamic lands by finding ways to permit certain Christians to hide their faith from disapproving Muslims. Unfortunately, the *Responses*, composed in January of 1235, ignores the broader Tunisian Christian communities so as to concentrate on those Christians whose orthodoxy the friars felt were most endangered. We can divide the *Responses* into three categories: first, questions related to Christians selling contraband items (such as weapons or those articles or groups of people, such as slaves or soldiers, that Muslims could use in battle against Christians) to Muslims; second, questions regarding excommunication and absolution of Christians who had contravened Christian doctrine; and, third, questions about a minority of Christians who wished to conceal their practice of the Christian faith from Muslim employers.⁵⁰ It is this third division that pertains most directly to this section's topic. For example, Question 16, situated in this last category, indicates that Christians were generally able to practice their faith publicly without reprisal from Muslim authorities, since the friars

⁵⁰ Ramon de Penyafort, "Ramon de Penyafort's Responses to questions concerning relations between Christians and Saracens: critical edition and translation," ed. John Tolan, academia.edu [2012], https://www.academia.edu/2244607/Ramon_de_Penyafort_s_Responses_to_questions_concerning_relations_between_Christians_and_Saracens_critical_edition_and_translation [accessed December 17, 2014], 3–5; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 138–44; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 497–8.

asked whether or not they could celebrate mass before dawn so as to accommodate Christians who otherwise might not be able to attend the rite because of fear of retaliation.⁵¹ Since many, if not most, Tunisian Christians could attend celebrations of the hours or the mass at times designated by the Liturgy of Hours, we might infer that the friars referred to Christians whose social or political positions—such as slaves in Muslim households or individuals working for the sultan or an emir—required that they proclaim publicly to be Muslims and that they practice Christianity privately.⁵² In this way, it can be deduced that Muslim authorities in Tunis were accustomed to having Christians live among and interact with the Muslim majority and that the friars ministered to the Christian community in a manner that underscored the friars' submission to Muslim authority.

Jacques de Vitry gives further details about how the friars acted in Islamic lands. In the *Historia occidentalis* (1223–1225), Jacques writes that the friars commonly bore themselves in a manner that stimulated cordial relations between themselves and the Muslim population and that the Muslims held the Friars Minor in high regard for their humility and virtue.

Indeed, he asserts that the Muslims admired the friars and their humility, received the Franciscans with kindness, willingly listened to their preaching, and provided the friars with anything that they needed.⁵³ However, he also notes that the friars' preaching occasionally caused tension between the two religious groups. For instance, if a Franciscan said any word

⁵¹ de Penafort, "Ramon de Penafort's Responses," 14; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 497–8.

⁵² Tolan, "Taking Gratian to Africa: Raymond de Penafort's Legal Advice to the Dominicans and Franciscans in Tunis (1234)," in *A Faithful Sea: The Religious Cultures of the Mediterranean, 1200–1700*, ed. Adnan A. Husain and K. E. Fleming (Oxford: Oneworld, 2007), 56–9; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 497–8.

⁵³ Jacques de Vitry, *The Historia occidentalis of Jacques de Vitry*, ed. John Frederick Hinnebusch (Fribourg: The University Press, 1972), 161. "Non solum autem Christi fideles sed etiam sarraceni et obtenebrati homines, eorum humilitatem et perfectionem ammirantes, quando causa predicationis ad ipsos intrepidi accedunt, grato animo necessaria providentes, libentur eos recipiunt." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

that suggested that Muhammad was a liar, the Muslims would punish the friar and expel him from the city. Jacques' account, then, suggests that the Friars Minor conducted themselves in a way that commended them to their Muslim hosts, even if an occasional friar disparaged the Prophet.

Even though Jordan's examples are within a European Christian context, they nonetheless indicate how the friars were to behave in unfamiliar lands and among hostile peoples. Indeed, he employs the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary to show how the Franciscans were persecuted as the result of misunderstandings—not confrontation—and how the friars either bore that degrading or violent treatment or fled so as to escape it. For instance, when the friars accidentally suggested that they were heretics, the local Germans jailed some of the friars and forced others to dance naked.⁵⁴ Similarly, the Hungarians considered the friars to be dangerous, and so the locals continuously threatened the friars with their dogs and staves.⁵⁵ The friars thought that they could mollify the Hungarians, and so they offered the locals their outer tunics, under tunics, and breeches in order to avert any further ill treatment.⁵⁶ One friar, after giving away his breeches fifteen times, decided to smear his next pair with oxen dung just so that the Hungarian laity would not want them.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutonium inficerent, sicut et Lombardiam pervertissent, et respondissent 'ia,' quidam ex ipsis plagati, quidam incarcerati et quidam denudati nudi ad choream sunt ducti et spectaculum ludicre hominibus sunt effecti."

⁵⁵ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "[C]um divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspidem sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt."

⁵⁶ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "Et cum inter se fratres conquirent, quare sic mactarentur, dixit unus: 'Forte quia tunicas nostras superiores habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, nec sic a verberibus destiterunt. Et adiecit: 'Forte etiam et tunicas nostras inferiores habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, nec sic percutere desierunt. Et dixit: 'Forte et braccas nostras habere volunt.' Quas cum dedissent, a verberibus destiterunt et nudos abire permiserunt."

⁵⁷ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: "Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat. Et cum pudore et verecundia victus plus de braccis quam de aliis vestibus doleret, ipsas braccas luto boum et aliis inmunditiis polluit et sic ipsi pastores super eis nauseam habentes ipsi braccas retinere concesserunt."

As these stories illustrate, the friars suffered imprisonment, embarrassment, and harassment, but this treatment resulted from the local people's fears regarding what they thought the friars might be and not from the manner in which the friars treated these people. Moreover, when their suffering became too much for them to bear, each group returned to Italy, where the friars shared their stories of unsolicited persecution.⁵⁸

Using the 1221 mission, Jordan also conveys how the members of the mission delivered sermons to the clergy and laity in northern Italy and in Germany and how these sermons encouraged the listeners to perform penance or to adopt lives that aligned with Christian doctrine. For example, Jordan describes how Caesar of Speyer, before he converted to the Friars Minor, preached to the citizens of Speyer. He was such an effective preacher that he convinced the women of the city to adopt a life of humility and to discard their jewelry.⁵⁹ In 1221, when the friars gathered in Trent, Caesar and Barnabas preached to the clergy and the laity. Even though Jordan does not recount whether these sermons condemned heretical beliefs or explained Catholic doctrine, he states that their efforts resulted in the conversion of a wealthy citizen to the Friars Minor.⁶⁰ However, when he recounts how John of Pian di Carpine and Barnabas preached to crowds in Mainz, Worms, Speyer, Strasburg, and

⁵⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "Ex quo facto Theutonia a fratribus tam crudelis est reputata, ut ad ipsam nisi desiderio martirii inspirati redire non auderent." Chapter 6: "Hiis et aliis pluribus contumeliis affecti in Italiam sunt reversi."

⁵⁹ Jordan, 36. Chapter 9: "Hic adhuc secularis existens magnus predicator et ewangelice perfectionis imitator fuit. Ad cuius predicacionem dum in civitate sua matrone quedam deposito ornatu humiliter incederent, viri earum indignati ipsum quasi hereticum incendio tradere voluerunt."

⁶⁰ Jordan, 43. Chapter 20: "In festo autem sancti Michaelis frater Cesarius sermonem fecit ad clerum et frater Barnabas ad populum. Ad quorum predicacionem quidam civis de Tridento, vir dives theutonica et lombardica lingua eruditus nomine Peregrinus fratribus novis tunicis superioribus et inferioribus vestitis et reliquis rebus suis omnibus venditis et pauperibus distributis ad ordinem est receptus."

Cologne, Jordan says that they preached penance.⁶¹ In Hildesheim, John and other friars were able to lead several men to perform penance and to join the order through their preaching and with the example of their actions.⁶² Similarly, a novice preacher named Hermann displayed his effectiveness as a preacher and the friars exhibited how to act as Christians.⁶³ With these tales, Jordan portrays the friars as concentrating on preaching about penance and on using their own actions and behaviors so as to demonstrate to others how to lead Christian lives. Even though he does not provide a level of detail that would remove all doubt, his information is nonetheless suggestive of hortatory sermons and not condemnatory ones.

Francis as an Example of Franciscan Conduct on Mission

In the *Chronica*, Jordan supplies his version of one of the most popular narratives about Franciscan proselytizing within mission, the story of Francis going to preach to the sultan in Egypt. In this tale, the founder risked his life for an opportunity to try to convert the most powerful Muslim to Christianity, an invitation that the sultan declined.⁶⁴ Although this chapter has considered evidence found in the order's legislation, in papal bulls, in sermon

⁶¹ Jordan, 44. Chapter 23: "Qui inde transierunt in Mogunciam et in Wormaciam et in Spiream et in Argentinam et in Coloniam se hominibus ostendentes et verbum penitencie predicantes et fratribus subsequentibus hospicia preparantes."

⁶² Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: "Qui inquam episcopus convocato civitatis sue clero fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis, primum custodem Saxonie, fecit clericorum multitudini predicare. Sermone vero finito dominus episcopus fratrem Johannem et fratres ordinis sui clero et populo recommendans ipsis et predicandi et confessiones in sua diocesi audiendi auctoritatem dedit. Ad fratrum vero predicacionem et exemplum multi ad penitenciam compuncti se ordini reddiderunt."

⁶³ Jordan, 50. Chapter 41: "Qui veniens in Isenako, ubi olim cappellanus fuerat et unde reddiderat se ad fratres domus theutonice, cum populo pluries predicasset, ad predicacionem eius et exemplum conversacionis eius, quod de tanto commodo, quod habuerat in domo fratrum teutonicorum, ad tam humilem et austum ordinem se humiliaverat, populus non modicum compunctus, ad quemcumque locum suam predicacionem indixit, ibi tota civitas confluebat."

⁶⁴ Jordan, 36–7. Chapter 10. Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 493.

notes, and in narratives about mission in general, it might be productive to take into account how the friars employed the story about Francis' mission to Egypt as an example of how the friars were to conduct themselves when they went among Muslims. In this section, it is useful to ask how non-Franciscan and Franciscan writers used the well-known story of Francis preaching to the sultan in Egypt so as to portray how the friars were to conduct themselves on Franciscan mission in Muslim lands. The questions that we ask, therefore, are how did the earliest texts written by individuals who were not Franciscan utilize these stories and how did the later Franciscan versions alter and exploit these narratives.

Scholarship on Franciscan mission and martyrdom has relied on this story, particularly the version found in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*, in order to understand how the Friars Minor interacted with the local population in Islamic lands. However, the problem with the scholarship can be seen in Robert Burns' use of thirteenth-century texts. Of these scholars, Burns surveys the widest range of thirteenth-century texts on the subject of Franciscan mission, and he lists five different methods that the Friars Minor used to convert Muslims in Valencia to orthodox Christianity. These tactics included secret conversions, infiltrating a Muslim intellectual community by initiating a metaphysical dialogue with Islamic philosophers and theologians, diplomatic maneuvers, conquest, and fanatical confrontation.⁶⁵ Interestingly, of these five methods, Burns derives the first four from texts written in the Iberian peninsula or North Africa,⁶⁶ from papal bulls (issued by Honorius III, Gregory IX, and Innocent IV),⁶⁷ or from twelfth- and thirteenth-century writers (such as

⁶⁵ Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1395. See Ryan, "Missionary Saints": 7. Although Ryan references Burns' article, he only reports one tactic: fanatic confrontation.

⁶⁶ Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1392–5, 1397, 1399, 1401–5, 1408–12, 1429–34.

⁶⁷ Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1389–92, 1394, 1399–1401; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 498–501.

Peter the Venerable, Roger Bacon, Joachim of Fiore, Jacques de Vitry, Raymond Lull, Thomas Aquinas, Humbert of Romans, and Raymond de Penyafort), who were concerned with describing the practical and theoretical methods that preachers used when they proselytized to Muslims.⁶⁸ However, Burns bases fanatical confrontation solely on Thomas of Celano's story about the founder trying to achieve martyrdom in either the Iberian peninsula or in Syria.⁶⁹ As a result, it is difficult to support that confrontational martyrdom was as an aspect of Franciscan mission in the early thirteenth century.

Indeed, if one looks at the *Chronica*, the manner in which Jordan juxtaposes the friars martyred in Morocco with the friars who had volunteered to go to Germany in 1221 suggests that the Moroccan martyrs were killed for reasons other than confrontational methods of evangelism. As we have seen, Jordan states that, at the 1221 General Chapter, he did not want to be sent to northern Italy, where heretics might corrupt his beliefs, or to Germany, where the ferocity of the local habitants would prompt him to modify his faith.⁷⁰ Later in his narrative, he reiterates this fear of how the Germans' cruelty would make him suffer and, thereby, imperil his soul by making him lose his patience.⁷¹ This fear of the Germans likely stemmed from stories about how the Friars Minor were treated brutally on the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary. When Francis asked for volunteers who were willing to evangelize north of the Alps, Jordan looked on the friars who had come forward as men who were

⁶⁸ Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1389, 1391–2, 1395, 1397, 1394–5, 1399–1401, 1403–4, 1408, 1410–11; Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 52–62, 72–3.

⁶⁹ Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1395–6; 1 Celano, 42–4.

⁷⁰ Jordan, 40. Chapter 18: "Erat autem tunc temporis quidam frater in capitulo, qui consuevit in oracionibus suis domino supplicare, ne sua fides corrumperetur ab hereticis Lombardie aut a fide mutaretur per ferocitatem Theutonicorum et ut ab utrisque dignaretur ipsum dominus misericorditer liberare."

⁷¹ Jordan, 41–2. Chapter 18: "Ire timuit propter Theutonicorum crudelitatem, ne si in passionibus patientiam perderet, in anima periclitaretur."

heading to their deaths. At this point in the *Chronica*, he draws a direct link between these men and the friars who went to the Iberian peninsula, because he regretted that he had not learned the names of the men who died in Morocco.⁷² He completes this link by stating that he wanted to learn the names of the men going to Germany and their places of origin so that, in case they were murdered, he could say that he had known these men.⁷³ At no point does Jordan draw a distinction between these two groups of men other than to state their point of destination. Moreover, he makes clear that the cruelty of the Germans was the only reason why the group going to Germany would be martyred.

Of the five thirteenth-century texts that recount the story of Francis' mission to the Egyptian sultan, three can be characterized as witness accounts and two can be depicted as having been based on an oral tradition. The story can be found in a letter that Jacques de Vitry wrote in 1220 and in his *Historia occidentalis* (1223–1225), in the *Chronicle of Ernoul* (1227–1229), written by an unknown witness of the Fifth Crusade, in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* (1228), and in Jordan's *Chronica*.⁷⁴ Since Jacques and the unknown chronicler were in Damietta during the Fifth Crusade, they can be broadly described as witnesses to events and as participants in constructing narratives about interactions between Christians and Muslims during the crusade. By contrast, Thomas' *Life of Saint Francis* and Jordan's *Chronica* seem to respond to an oral tradition emerging from these narratives, since Thomas and Jordan's versions of the tale deviate from the accounts provided by Jacques and

⁷² Jordan, 40–1. Chapter 18: “Qui videns multos fratres surgere paratos ad eundem in Theutonium, estimans eos statim a Theutunicis martirizandos et dolens, quod fratres missos in Hispaniam et martirizatos nominatenus non noverat.”

⁷³ Jordan, 41. Chapter 18: “[V]olens in istis cavere, quod sibi acciderat in illis, surgens de medio omnium ivit ad illos, discurrens per singulos et querens ‘quis es et unde es,’ estimans gloriam magnam esse, si ipsos martirizari contingeret, quod dicere posset: ‘illum novi et illum novi.’”

⁷⁴ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

the unknown chronicler.

In both of his narratives about the meeting between Francis and sultan al-Kamil, Jacques emphasizes the importance of preaching for Francis and the order. For example, in a letter that he wrote in Damietta in early 1220, Jacques expresses doubt regarding the Franciscans' future, since the Friars Minor lacked a novitiate and because Francis sent out friars who did not have training to preach to the laity.⁷⁵ Indeed, the inexperienced zeal of these friars was exemplified in their founder, who crossed the crusade's battle lines to convert Muslims with his sermons.⁷⁶ All that Jacques informs us about Francis' meeting with the sultan, however, was that the Muslim leader asked the friar to pray that God would have the sultan conform to the religion that most pleased their deity.⁷⁷ In this way, Jacques' purpose in this letter was to accentuate the friars' naiveté in worldly matters, since Francis seemed to think that he could traverse a battle field and convert the sultan to Christianity with little difficulty. For Jacques, preaching required more than zeal; it needed training to be effective at shepherding the laity towards orthodoxy as well as for converting Muslims to Christianity. Moreover, Jacques' portrayal of the interchange between the two men indicates that it was cordial and not hostile.

Since he wrote this letter for a few friends and not for a broad audience, it can be supposed

⁷⁵ Jacques de Vitry, "Letter 6," *Lettres de Jacques de Vitry 1160/70–1240, évêque de Saint-Jean d'Acre*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), 131–2. "Hec tamen religio valde periculosa nobis videtur eo, quod non solum perfecti, sed etiam iuvenes et imperfecti, qui sub conventuali disciplina aliquanto tempore artari et probari debuissent, per universum mundum bini et bini dividuntur." Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 19–21, 31–3; Tolan, "History and Memory: The Encounter between Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kâmil," *Studi francescani: SF; trimestrale di vita culturale e religiosa dei Frati Minori d'Italia* 108: 3–4 (2011): 539–40; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 72; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

⁷⁶ Jacques de Vitry, "Letter 6," 132–3. "Magister vero illorum, qui ordinem illum instituit, cum venisset in exercitum nostrum, zelo fidei accensus ad exercitum hostium nostrorum pertransire non timuit et cum aliquot diebus Sarracenis verbum dei predicasset, modicum profecit." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

⁷⁷ Jacques de Vitry, "Letter 6," 133. "Soldanus autem, rex Egypti, ab eo secreto petiit ut pro se domino supplicaret quatinus religioni, que magis deo placeret, divinitus inspiratus adhereret." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

that Jacques was less guarded about his portrayal of events and about his feelings regarding Francis and the Friars Minor. Consequently, his depiction likely conveys a fairly accurate account that is primarily colored by his negative opinion of the friars.

In the *Historia occidentalis*, Jacques shows that he had reconsidered the effectiveness of Francis and the Friars Minor as preachers, but not the nature of the founder's meeting with sultan al-Kamil. In this work, Jacques wrote that Francis preached in front of the sultan for several days and only stopped because the sultan was afraid that the friar would convert others in the court. Having weakened the faith of those Muslims around the sultan, the friars could have accomplished more to achieve the crusade's goals through preaching than the crusaders would have been able to do through warfare.⁷⁸ In this way, Jacques depicts Francis as an exceptional preacher, one whose words were efficacious at swaying those individuals who should be most resolute in the Islamic faith. Just as with his letter, Jacques suggests that Francis' demeanor among Muslims was one that enabled him to preach to the sultan and not one that would place him in jail or coerce the Muslims to kill him. With both of these works, then, Jacques indicates that Francis interacted with Muslims in a non-confrontational manner, since such a demeanor permitted him to enter the court of the sultan and to discuss his salvation in an amenable fashion.

Similarly, the *Chronicle of Ernoul* (1227–1229), written by an unknown witness of the Fifth Crusade, suggests that Francis' encounter with Al-Kamil was pleasant and accentuates the friar's preaching. However, the author contextualizes his version of this story within a critique of the crusade by suggesting that the sultan exhibited better leadership qualities than did the crusading nobles. In this account, Francis and a companion were admitted through

⁷⁸ de Vitry, *The Historia occidentalis*, 161–2; Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 35–9, 46; Tolan, "Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kâmil": 539–40; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 223–7, 240–1; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

enemy lines and conducted directly to the sultan's court;⁷⁹ however, they were unable to deliver any sermons to the courtiers, since the sultan could not hear their words without having his qâdîs present.⁸⁰ For their part, the qâdîs refused to listen to these unkempt Christian preachers and instead recommended that the sultan cut off the friars' heads.⁸¹ Although, the author suggests tension on the part of these religious authorities, he also shows that they had no authority to impose or to carry out any persecution of the friars or to make them martyrs by having them executed. Disregarding their counsel,⁸² the sultan offered lands to the two men if they stayed in Egypt and riches if they returned to Christendom, but the friars refused both propositions.⁸³ What was important for the chronicler is that he portrayed the sultan as equally judicious—he was willing to listen to all parties before making a

⁷⁹ "The Chronicle of Ernoul," *Biblioteca Biobibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente Francese*, ed. Girolama Golubovich, Vol. 1 (Ad Claras Aquas, Quaracchi: Collegium S. Bonaventurae, 1906), 12. "Quant li Sarrasins qui escargaitoient lor ost les virent venir, si cuidierent qu'il venissent en message ou per renoier. Il alerent encontre, si les prisent, si les enmenerent devant le soudant." Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 42–7, 54, 59–60, 62–7; Tolan, "Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kâmil": 538–40; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

⁸⁰ "The Chronicle of Ernoul," 12. "Li soudans lor respondi qu'il avoit de sa loi archevesques et vesques et bons clers, et sans aus ne pooit il mie oïr [ce] qu'il disoient. Li clerc li respondirent: 'De ce sommes nous moult liet; mandés les, et se nous ne les poons mostrer par droites raisons que c'est voirs que nous vos disons, que vostre lois est niens, s'il nous veulent oïr et entendre, faites nos les testes coper.' Li soudans les manda [querre] et il vinrent à lui en se tente. Et si ot des plus haus homes et des plus saiges de se tiere, et li doi clerc i furent ensement."

⁸¹ "The Chronicle of Ernoul," 12. "Quant il furent tot asamblé, si lor dist li soudans per coi il les avoit mandes, et si lor conta çou por coi il estoient asanlé, et çou que li clerc li avoient dit, et por coi il estoient venu. Et il li respondirent: 'Sire, tu es espée de le loi, et si dois le loi maintenir et garder. Nous te commandos, de par Diu, et de par Mahon, qui le loi nos donna, que tu lor faices les tiestes colper, car nous n'orrons cose qu'il dient; et si vous deffendons que vous n'oés cose qu'il dient, car li lois deffent que on n'en n'oie nul preechement. Et s'il est nus qui veuille preecer ne parler contre le loi, li lois commande c'on li colpe le teste. Et por çou te commandomnes, de par Dia et de par le loi, que tu lor faices les testes colper, car ensi le commande li lois.'"

⁸² "The Chronicle of Ernoul," 13. "Lors lor dist li soudans: 'Signor, il mont dit, de par Diu et de par le loi, que je vos face les testes colper, car ensi le commande li lois; mais je irai poi contre le commandement, ne je ne vous ferai mie les testes colper, car malvais guerredon vous renderoie de çou que vous vos estes mis en aventure de morir pour m'ame, à vos esciens, rendre à Dame Diu.'"

⁸³ "The Chronicle of Ernoul," 13. "Apriès si lor dist li soudans que s'il voloient demorer avoec lui, qu'il lor donroit grans tiere et grans possessions; et il li disent qn'i n'i demorroient mie, puis que on ne les voloit entendre, ne escouter; in s'en roient arriere, en l'ost as Crestiens, se ses commandemens i estoit."

decision, even in matters of faith—as he was generous, and these are qualities that the author indicates were absent in the Christian crusaders. In the process of developing this critique, the author indicates that Francis and his companion comported themselves in a way that endeared them to the sultan. The two men could only have done so if their bearing were nonconfrontational and without any hostility.

Even though the authors wrote for different purposes and their accounts differ on a few details, the stories agree in broad terms. This agreement can be attributed in large part to the fact that Jacques and the author of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* were both in Damietta during the Fifth Crusade, and therefore participated in the formation of the immediate collective memory regarding Francis' meeting with the sultan. Although these men were not working with direct personal memories but with collective memories, the fact that their stories contain such little variance in their overall narrative suggests that these tales reflect a common source that began in oral tradition during the Fifth Crusade.⁸⁴

While Thomas and Jordan's versions retain the amiable interaction between Francis and the sultan, they also diverge from the above accounts in a significant manner by subjecting the friars to acts of violence. For example, Thomas writes simply that Francis and a companion went to see the sultan⁸⁵ and that they were captured, insulted, and beaten by the soldiers.⁸⁶ Even though Thomas depicts the soldiers as beating the friars, the text indicates

⁸⁴ Hoffman and Hoffman, "Reliability and Validity in Oral History," 107–35; Neisser, "John Dean's Memory": 1–22.

⁸⁵ 1 Celano, 43. "Nam tertio decimo anno conversionis suae ad partes Syriae pergens, cum quotidie bella inter christianos et paganos fortia et dura ingruerent, assumpto secum socio, conspectibus Soldani Saracenorum se non timuit praesentare." Tolan, "Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kâmil": 538–42; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 219–20; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 72–4; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

⁸⁶ 1 Celano, 44. "Nam primo quam ad Soldanum accederet, captus a complicitibus, contumeliis affectus, attritus verberibus non terretur, comminatis suppliciis non veretur, morte intentata non expavescit." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1.

that this treatment derived from a perception of the friars as members of the crusade and not from the manner in which the friars behaved toward the soldiers. Furthermore, Thomas asserts that the sultan graciously received the Franciscans,⁸⁷ which suggests that the friars treated the Muslims respectfully. Indeed, when the sultan offered Francis many riches, the founder dismissed the wealth, and this rejection of worldly goods convinced the sultan of the veracity of the friars' message and induced him to listen to their words.⁸⁸ It is difficult to suppose that the sultan would make such an offer if the friars had acted in a hostile manner toward him and other Muslims, including the soldiers. Even though Thomas indicates that Francis desired martyrdom, the founder was not killed for his efforts. Instead, he sufficiently impressed the sultan in Egypt—which can only have happened through respectful dialogue—that the sultan made certain that Francis returned safely to Damietta. Additionally, Thomas uses the story to accentuate how the founder merited receiving the stigmata by exhibiting his poverty through refusal of wealth, martyrdom through suffering without dying, and preaching for conversion in the absence of success.⁸⁹

Since Jacques de Vitry and the author of the *Chronicle of Ernoul* do not mention any physical brutality, Thomas' addition of violence suggests either a variation in the order's collective memory or an innovation on Thomas' part. It is possible that the Friars Minor reacted to a lack of persecution in the Fifth Crusade accounts as if it were an erasure in the

⁸⁷ 1 Celano, 44. "Et quidem licet a multis satis hostili animo et mente aversa exprobratus fuisset, a Soldano tamen honorifice plurimum est susceptus." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1.

⁸⁸ 1 Celano, 44. "Honorabat eum prout poterat, et oblatis muneribus multis, ad divitias mundi animum eius inflectere conabatur: sed cum vidisset eum strenuissime omnia velut *stercora* contemnentem, admiratione maxima repletus est et quasi virum omnibus *dissimilem* intuebatur eum; permotus est valde verbis eius *et eum* libentissime *audiebat*." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 70–1.

⁸⁹ 1 Celano, 43–4; Tolan, "Francis of Assisi and Malik al-Kâmil": 538–42; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 67–9, 231–4.

collective memory, one that needed to be filled so as to exhibit that the founder was willing to suffer violence as a symbolic form of martyrdom. However, we might also consider that this detail was an addition to the oral tradition around Assisi, which would indicate that the collective memory was being adjusted so as to create more meaning in this narrative. As discussed in the last chapter, the modification informs the reader that the founder received a taste of persecutorial martyrdom without suffering the full passion. By combining Francis' refusal of wealth, his experience of torment, and his sermon of salvation to the sultan, Thomas emphasizes these Franciscan spiritual values and practices without needing to rely on a physical death as an interpretation of martyrdom.

Although the *Chronica*'s version of the story about preaching to the sultan seems to follow the broad outlines found in Thomas' *Life of Saint Francis*, Jordan emphasizes even more the violence visited on the founder while also accentuating how preachers needed to know the language of their audience in order to be persuasive. In this version, Francis had reflected on the adversities that the friars had faced with the 1219 missions.⁹⁰ The founder decided that he should face the dangers of an expedition himself, because he believed that he should excel more than any of his followers, and so he set out for Egypt so as to convert the sultan to Christianity.⁹¹ After arriving at Damietta, Francis tried to go to the sultan's court, but the Muslim army prevented him from reaching his goal. For unstated reasons, the Muslim

⁹⁰ Jordan, 36–7: Chapter 10: “Hiis itaque dispositis animadvertens pater beatus, quod filios suos ad passiones miserit et labores, ne aliis laborantibus propter Christum ipse quietem suam querere videretur, cum esset gloriosus animo et nollet aliquem se precellere in via Christi, sed magis pre omnibus precellens esse, . . .” Bartoli and Marini, *Da Assisi al mondo*, 75; Zips, *Franziskus von Assisi*, 19; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 224–5; Zips, “Franziskus von Assisi, vita via,” 18–19; *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 227–8; Heullant-Donat, “Martyrdom and Identity in the Franciscan Order”: 436; MacEvitt, “Martyrdom and the Muslim World”: 5–6; Daniel, *Islam and the West*, 140–1; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70–1.

⁹¹ Jordan, 36–7: Chapter 10: “. . . cum filios ad incerta pericula miserit et inter fideles, ipse amore Christi passionis fervens eodem anno quo alios fratres misit, videlicet anno conversionis XIII., ad certa maris pericula transiens ad infideles se ad soldanum contulit.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70–1.

soldiers beat him until he shouted the only word he thought that the enemy would understand: “Sultan! Sultan!”⁹² Comprehending that this wretched-looking man sought an audience with their leader, the Muslim soldiers took Francis before the sultan.⁹³ While the most powerful Muslim in Egypt treated the founder kindly and listened to his sermon, he also refused to convert from Islam to Christianity. Then, at the sultan’s command, an armed guard returned Francis to the Christian-occupied city of Damietta.⁹⁴

As with Thomas’ account, we see Francis suffering at the hands of Muslim soldiers and doing everything in his power to convert the sultan to Christianity. However, while Thomas reports solely that the founder was treated roughly and verbally abused,⁹⁵ Jordan accentuates the founder’s suffering by saying that the soldiers delivered multiple injuries along with the insults and that Francis cried out between blows.⁹⁶ Furthermore, Jordan departs from previous narratives by pointing out that, with the exception of the word “Sultan”, Francis was ignorant of his listener’s language.⁹⁷ However, even this limited knowledge of his audience’s tongue was the key to achieve an even greater objective: the chance to preach to unbelievers

⁹² Jordan, 37: Chapter 10: “Sed antequam perveniret ad ipsum, multis iniuriis et contumeliis est affectus et linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat, ‘Soldan, soldan.’ Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus. Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disponderet, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70–1.

⁹³ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70–1.

⁹⁴ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disponderet, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70–1.

⁹⁵ 1 Celano, 44. “Nam primo quam ad Soldanum accederet, captus a complicibus, contumeliis affectus, attritus verberibus non terretur, comminatis suppliciis non veretur, morte intentata non expavescit.”

⁹⁶ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “Sed antequam perveniret ad ipsum, multis iniuriis et contumeliis est affectus et linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat, ‘Soldan, soldan.’” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70.

⁹⁷ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: “. . . linguam ipsorum ignorans inter verbera clamabat, ‘Soldan, soldan.’” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70.

and heterodox believers and to attempt to convert them to orthodox Christianity. As with most of the earlier versions, Jordan asserts that the sultan received Francis respectfully.⁹⁸ Since Francis was not able to collect any fruit from among the Muslims, the sultan ordered several soldiers to lead the founder back to the Christian army at Damietta.⁹⁹

Although conversion to orthodox Christianity is important for Jordan as a goal of preaching, we can deduce that the ideas underpinning this version of events are that the other person does not always convert, that people are more willing to listen if treated with respect, and that surviving the encounter permits one to continue to pursue proselytizing efforts that might prove successful in the future. Jordan does not, of course, spell out these implications for his reader but instead embeds them within the overall thrust of the narrative. After all, the five friars were killed in Morocco, but the report of their deaths in the *Chronica* omits any details regarding whether or not the friars succeeded or failed to convert anyone. Moreover, despite this failure in Egypt, Francis continued his efforts at proselytizing in Christian lands and at encouraging other faithful Christians to pursue this same endeavor.¹⁰⁰ The unstated implication is that dying for one's faith, as shown with the friars in Morocco, accomplishes little other than the possibility of being venerated by others; however, as noted in Chapter 4,

⁹⁸ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: "Et sic ad ipsum perductus gloriose est ab ipso receptus et in infirmitate humane tractatus." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70.

⁹⁹ Jordan, 37. Chapter 10: "Et cum apud ipsos fructum facere non posset et redire disposeret, per soldanum armata manu ad Christianorum exercitum, qui tunc Damiatam obsedit, est perductus." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 68–70.

¹⁰⁰ Jordan, 40. Chapter 17: "[Beatus Franciscus ait:] 'Est quedam regio Theutonia, in qua sunt homines christiani et devoti, qui ut scitis sepe terram nostram cum longis baculis et largis cereis laudes deo et sanctis eius decantando in sudore et solis ardore transeunt et limina sanctorum visitant. Et quia ad eos aliquociens missi fratres male tractati redierunt, nullum ad ipsos ire compellit frater. Sed qui zelo dei et animarum inspirati ire vellent, eandem eis obedienciam immo ampliorem dare vult, quam daret euntibus ultra mare. Et si qui essent, qui ire vellent, surgerent et in partem se traherent.' Et desiderio inflammati surrexerunt circiter 90 fratres morti se offerentes et seorsum, sicut iussi fuerant, secedentes expectabant responsum, qui et quanti, qualiter et quando ire deberent."

Jordan suggests that Francis discouraged such reverence of other friars' suffering.¹⁰¹ In contrast, if a friar survived a hostile encounter with a nonbeliever, he could reap greater rewards by subsequently preaching to a different audience that might be more amenable to a message of performing penance and striving for salvation.

Conclusion

Jordan's *Chronica* presents an image of the Friars Minor as evangelists who explained orthodox Christian doctrine in an effort to exhort people to perform penance and to come closer to God and who passively accepted any tribulation visited upon them by other people. Indeed, this representation of the Franciscans is not unique to Jordan, but one that follows similar portrayals revealed by Francis in his writings and the *Rule of 1221*, by Hugh of Digne in his commentary on the order's *Rule*, by Anthony of Padua in his sermons, by Honorius in his bulls, by Ramon à Penyafort in his *Responses*, by Jacques de Vitry in his letters and *Historia occidentalis*, and by an unknown author in the *Chronicle of Ernoul*. Although Thomas of Celano indicates that Francis's attempts to go to Islamic lands were so that he could achieve martyrdom, which would suggest that he would act aggressively toward his hosts, it is important to remember that his *legendum* discusses matters within a spiritual context and in terms of Francis' reception of the stigmata. Moreover, as argued in Chapter 4, any discussions of Franciscan martyrdom in the early half of the thirteenth century were conducted in terms of fighting demons or suffering trials and not in regard to being killed for one's faith. Regardless of whether the author of a given text employed his personal memories

¹⁰¹ Jordan, 36. Chapter 8. "Cum autem fratrum predictorum martirium, vita et legenda ad beatum Franciscum delata fuisset, audiens se in ea commendari et videns fratres de eorum passione gloriari, cum esset sui ipsius maximus contemptor et laudis ac glorie aspernator, legendam respuit et eam legi prohibuit dicens: 'Unusquisque de sua et non de aliena passione gloriatur.'"

or the friars' collective memory, these authors maintain a consistent depiction of Franciscan mission.

The narrative of Francis traveling to Damietta in order to convert the Egyptian sultan to Christianity was the most popular story that depicted how the friars were to act while on mission. While witnesses of the crusade describe relations between Francis and the Muslims as having been conducted in a peaceful manner, Thomas and Jordan introduce violence into the equation. However, it is important to note that the founder acted submissively and that this violence was a form of unsolicited persecution. In this way, their versions suggest that the friars augmented this narrative in the collective memory to include this violence as a way to show that Francis suffered torment without creating any enmity so that he could preach to the unconverted.

Admittedly, the friars who went on mission could have acted in a manner that the Muslims interpreted as insulting; however, the early thirteenth-century texts do not support an interpretation that they were confrontational. With Jacques de Vitry's descriptions of the friars in Egypt, about the most that one can suggest is that a friar occasionally said something inflammatory to Muslims, but that such actions were not part of a deliberate Franciscan *modus operandi*. More to the point, these texts suggest that non-Franciscans and Franciscans alike in the early thirteenth century viewed the friars on mission as preachers and not as prospective martyrs.

In this way, Jordan's portrayal of the Franciscans as submissive and exhortative missionaries is in accord with several other texts from early thirteenth century. With his mobilization of both personal and collective memory, Jordan uses the *Chronica* to construct a more sustained representation of the Franciscans as agreeable preachers of Christian doctrine,

one that accords with Francis' depiction of mission in the *Rule of 1221*.

CHAPTER 6: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH SIMPLICITY

Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 are linked in that they investigate how the *Chronica* presents the relationship between clericalization and education during the early to mid thirteenth century. Thus, Chapter 7 examines Jordan's presentation of how Franciscan mission was affected by clericalization and education, Chapter 8 reviews his depiction of their impact on Franciscan perceptions of the order's need for a cardinal protector, and Chapter 9 explores his portrayal of their impact on the friars' ability to speak two or more languages. As for Chapter 6, it focuses on how clericalization and education interacted with the Franciscan ideal of simplicity during the early decades of the order. While the Friars Minor accepted a growing number of clerics into their ranks, a vocal minority crusaded against studying. The ensuing dialogue between advocates of simplicity and proponents of education reveals the manner in which the friars attempted to come to terms with these trends.

Although Jordan's advocacy of clericalization underlies the entire *Chronica* through its emphasis on education and hierarchy, he offers two chapters in which he most explicitly touches on the tension between advocates of simplicity and proponents of education. In these chapters, he employs Nicholas of the Rhine—also known as Nicholas the Humble—to embody the characteristics of advocates of simplicity and to represent their conflict with proponents of education and the order's hierarchy. Indeed, in this story, Nicholas shows disdain for friars like Jordan who risk their souls so as to minister to other Franciscans and to provide direction for the order. At the same time, Jordan shows that he feel some discomfort

concerning Nicholas' expression of humility and from his scorn for those who serve in positions of authority.¹

Clericalization, or the Franciscans' transition from a prominently lay order to one with a predominantly clerical membership, began during the first few decades after Francis began to attract large numbers of followers in 1216 or 1217. While clericalization impacted the order in many ways, scholars have characterized one of its central conflicts as being between illiterate and literate friars. Indeed, scholars such as Bert Roest have explored the early and rapid growth of Franciscan schools throughout Europe during the thirteenth century.² At the same time, scholars portray these tensions being between illiterate and literate friars as though an inflexible line had been drawn between them based on their levels of education.³ For his part, Hugh Lawrence divides the friars between those who were relatively uneducated but gifted, like Francis and his earliest followers, and those who were well educated in theology, like Alexander of Hales and Jean de la Rochelle.⁴ Moreover, he asserts that clerics eventually usurped control of the order, which resulted in the order's transition from a lay penitential movement to a clerical organization. He argues that their efforts were articulated in the order's legislation, which was written by such educated clerics as Haymo of Faversham (1240–1244), Crescentius of Iesi (1244–1247), and John of Parma (1247–1257),

¹ Jordan, 52–4. Chapters 47, 49; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 190.

² Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650: Cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendeam sanctam fidem catholicam* . . . , *The Medieval Franciscans*, vol. 10 (Boston: Brill, 2015), 2–6.

³ Landini, *Clericalization*, 49–55, 118–26; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 54; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126–34; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 36–7, 44; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 120, 140; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 83, 106–7, 112, 252; C. Colt Anderson, "Clerics, Laity and Preaching the Gospel among the Early Franciscans," in *Franciscan Evangelization: Striving to Preach the Gospel*, Washington Theological Union Symposium Papers 2007, ed. Elise Sagau (St. Bonaventure, New York: Franciscan Institute, St. Bonaventure University, 2007), 33–54.

⁴ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 48–9.

and which consistently privileged learned clerics over uneducated lay friars.⁵ For her part, Neslihan Şenocak argues that the early order fails to exhibit any signs of a hierarchy based on levels of education.⁶ Additionally, Neslihan Şenocak asserts that the friars' early incursions into university towns suggests that the order was trying to recruit learned men⁷ and that the *Rule of 1223* privileged the selection of clerical friars.⁸ Bert Roest writes that the *Rules of 1221* and *1223* are vague on the subject of learning. Instead, these texts suggest certain forms of study.⁹ Additionally, he asserts that Francis' portrayal of himself as an *illiteratus* and an *idiota* depended on familiarity with this concept in a vernacular literature that the founder would have acquired in his youth.¹⁰

In this chapter, it is suggested that tensions within the ranks of the Friars Minor in the early to mid thirteenth century were not between illiterate and literate friars but were instead between advocates of simplicity and proponents of education and of service in positions of authority. Indeed, it is suggested that the friars accepted simplicity¹¹ and education as two equally valid and acceptable paths to salvation and that illiterate and semi-literate friars were able—and encouraged—to study. This friction over simplicity and education within the Friars Minor during the early to mid thirteenth century consists of two distinct yet

⁵ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 49–53.

⁶ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 40, 47.

⁷ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 52–4.

⁸ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 48, 76.

⁹ Roest, *Franciscan, Learning, Preaching, and Mission*, 13–14.

¹⁰ Roest, *Franciscan, Learning, Preaching, and Mission*, 8–11.

¹¹ Armstrong, “If My Words Remain in You . . .”: Foundations of the Evangelical Life,” in *Francis of Assisi: History, Hagiography and Hermeneutics in the Early Documents*, ed. Jay M. Hammond (New York: New City Press, 2004), 76.

interrelated binary relationships. In the first binary, friars who were educated and who actively served in positions of authority resented those confreres who invoked simplicity so as to avoid learning and performing service. With the second binary, advocates of simplicity did not complain about literate or educated friars per se, but instead expressed resentment toward those illiterate or semiliterate friars who decided to pursue clerical training. As will be discussed later, advocates of simplicity not only saw many more clerical novices entering the order than lay ones as a result of clericalization, they also witnessed many illiterate and semiliterate friars abandoning a definition of simplicity that stressed a lack of training so that they could enter the clerical ranks. Such lopsided growth, coupled with a thinning of their ranks, would contribute to perceptions that simplicity was an inferior path to salvation than the clerical route.

Despite this discussion of binaries, this chapter suggests that the literacy proficiency in the thirteenth century was not so straightforward. It is important to note that, while literacy among the laity was rare during the eleventh century, more people had learned by the twelfth century at least the basics of reading and writing because of the necessity of literacy for commerce, legal practices, and government administration.¹² For this reason, a strict binary of literate versus illiterate is misleading. Unfortunately, because the thirteenth-century texts gloss over the amount of education that the order's novices and members possessed, analyses of clericalization are forced to use the binary of illiterate versus literate or to express ambiguity about literacy proficiency.

Therefore, in order to investigate the issue of clericalization within Jordan's stories about Nicholas, it is helpful to ask how Francis' writings and the order's legislation framed the

¹² Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 8–15.

discussion regarding the education of lay friars, how the friars interpreted this legislation, and) how Franciscans and non-Franciscans debated issues related to clericalization. Although these questions pertain in part to Italian texts, they will be useful in illuminating aspects of the *Chronica* related to clericalization, because Jordan seems in this part of his text to be responding to his Italian counterparts. It is, then, through an exploration of this dialogue that Jordan's position can be analyzed.

Illiterate Versus Literate Friars within a Clericalized Franciscan Order

In the *Chronica*, Jordan indicates through an emphasis on the actions of clerical friars that the order encouraged the friars to learn theology;¹³ however, he also employs the figure of Nicholas the Humble to suggest that some friars preferred to live in simplicity rather than to put the benefits of clerical education into practice.¹⁴ As one might expect, disagreements over whether or not the friars were permitted to study had ramifications for Franciscan perceptions of their order's identity. In this section, it is suggested that Francis and the order's hierarchy consistently advocated learning as a path to salvation. To explore this topic, it will be beneficial to investigate what Francis' writings indicate about education within the Friars Minor and how early thirteenth-century authors interpreted the founder's injunctions regarding whether or not the friars were allowed to study.

Modern scholarship on this topic, which has generally been conducted within the context of the Franciscan Question, has characterized tensions among the early thirteenth-century Friars Minor as treating illiterate and literate friars as two unchanging and inseparable

¹³ Jordan, 36, 39, 45–7, 52–4, 55, 57. Chapters 9, 15, 25–8, 30, 47, 49, 52, 53, 58. Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 56–7.

¹⁴ Jordan, 52–4. Chapters 47, 49.

groups. Some scholars, such as John Moorman,¹⁵ Raoul Manselli,¹⁶ Pietro Maranesi,¹⁷ and Rosalind Brooke,¹⁸ argue that the thirteenth-century texts indicate that Francis was opposed to learning.¹⁹ This interpretation suggests that the founder wanted all friars to concentrate on cultivating simplicity and that any learning that the friars acquired should have been accomplished before these men joined the order. However, much of the evidence for this assertion depends on texts written between 1240 and 1370. The primary problem with such an approach is that it takes ideas and debates found in these later texts and projects them backward onto the 1220s, a time in which these arguments as such did not yet exist. Meanwhile scholars such as Gratien de Paris,²⁰ Giuseppe Abate,²¹ Hilarin Felder,²² Teodosio Lombardi,²³ Lorenzo di Fonzo,²⁴ Faustino Ossanna,²⁵ and Kajaten Esser²⁶ focus on Francis'

¹⁵ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 50–1.

¹⁶ Manselli, *Nos qui cum eo fuimus*, 27.

¹⁷ Pietro Maranesi, *Nescientes Litteras. L'ammonizione della regola franciscana e la questione degli studi nell'ordine (sec. xiii–xvi)*, *Biobliotheca Seraphica-Cappuccina* 61 (Rome: Istituto storico dei Cappuccini, 2000), 29–43, 60–5.

¹⁸ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123–4.

¹⁹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 5–6; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 2–6.

²⁰ Gratien de Paris, *Histoire de la fondation et l'évolution de l'ordre des Frère Mineurs au XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Société et librairie S. François, 1928), 96.

²¹ Giuseppe Abate, "S. Antonio maestro di sacra teologia," in *S. Antonio dottore della chiesa. Atti delle settimane antoniane tenute a Roma e a Padova nel 1946* (Vatican City: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1947), 265–94.

²² Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 355–61, 366–70.

²³ Teodosio Lombardi, "Saint'Antonio di Padova maestro di teologia a Bologna. Il problema degli studi agli inizi dell'ordine francescano," *Il Santo* (1982): 797–818.

²⁴ Lorenzo di Fonzo, "L'apostolato intellettuale, componente essenziale del carisma francescano-conventuale," *MF* 94 (1994), 568–88.

²⁵ Faustino Ossanna, "Il senso della teologia nell'Ordine francescano: la lettera di Francesco ad Antonio," *MF* 94 (1994), 505–15.

own writings to assert that he approved of learning, with the proviso that the friars should give priority to praising God's glory and to practicing penance.²⁷

To be sure, it is difficult to picture Francis disdaining theological training for the friars when he expressed reverence for anyone who had attained clerical status. While Francis intended that the friars humbly consider themselves as "lesser brothers," in that they should hold the lowest socioeconomic position in society and submit themselves to other people's authority, he nonetheless indicated that clerical friars held a favorable status within the order. While Lawrence Landini asserts that Francis attempted to behave equally toward both lay and clerical members,²⁸ the founder nonetheless exhibited an appreciation for clerics, because they could celebrate the Eucharist and hear confessions. Additionally, Şenocak indicates that the founder wanted clerical and lay friars to be treated equally, but she argues that this ideal was unrealizable considering that they held unequal status levels outside of the order.²⁹ Jacques Le Goff writes that Francis not only maintained respect for priests and for the ecclesiastic hierarchy but also presented them with complete obedience. Despite his reverence for priests, he also refused to join the clergy and expressed disdain for anything that intimated "superiority." Instead, Le Goff indicates that Francis sought equality between himself and his followers.³⁰ By contrast, Rosalind Brooke indicates that the founder revered

²⁶ Esser, "Der Brief des hl. Franziskus an den hl. Antonius von Padua," in *Studien zu den Opuscula des hl. Franziskus von Assisi*, ed. E. Kurten & Isidoro de Villapadierna, Subsidia scientifica franciscalia 4 (Rome: Istituto storico dei Capuccini, 1973), 43–58; Esser, "Studium und Wissenschaft im Geist des hl. Franziskus von Assisi," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 39 (1976): 36–7.

²⁷ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 122–3, 125; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 6–8.

²⁸ Landini, *Clericalization*, 42–4; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 211–12; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 47–9.

²⁹ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 47–52.

³⁰ Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 185–8.

clerics and that his followers shared this appreciation for priests, prelates, cardinals, and the pope.³¹

Francis first indicates the importance of having clerics in the order in his *Letter to the Entire Order* (1225 or 1226), which was more of an exhortation to clerical friars than to the order as a whole. In this epistle, the founder holds priests in esteem because they celebrate the Eucharist and hear confessions for all of the faithful.³² Francis also expresses these sentiments in the *Rule of 1221*, where he reminds his followers to think about themselves as servants to clerics and other professed religious in matters of salvation,³³ and in the *Testament*, where he writes that he always wants a cleric at his side to celebrate the Office.³⁴ In this way, Francis indicates that clerics perform a variety of spiritual functions that mediate everyone's pathways to salvation and that the order needs them to perform these roles. By contrast the lay friars are dependent on clerics to celebrate the Eucharist for them and to hear their confessions.

This bias toward clerical friars is also apparent in the *Rules*, as Francis gives special

³¹ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 136–7.

³² Francis, “Epistola toti ordini missa,” *OSPFA*, 139–46. For example: “Rogo etiam in Domino omnes fratres meos sacerdotes, qui sunt et erunt et esse cupiunt sacerdotes Altissimi, quod quandocumque missam celebrare voluerint, puri pure faciant cum reverentia verum sacrificium sanctissimi corporis et sanguinis Domini nostri Jesu Christi sancta intentione et munda non pro ulla terrena re neque timore vel amore alicuius hominis, quasi placentes hominibus,” “Recordamini, fratres mei sacerdotes, quod scriptum est de lege Moysi, quam transgrediens etiam in corporalibus *sine ulla miseratione* per sententiam Domini moriebatur,” “*Videte dignitatem vestram, fratres sacerdotes*, et estote sancti, quia ipse sanctus est,” “Totus homo paveat, totus mundus contremiscat, et caelum exsultet, quando super altare in manu sacerdotis est *Christus, Filius Dei vivi*,” “Moneo propterea et exhortor in Domino, ut in locis, in quibus fratres morantur, una tantum missa celebretur in die secundum formam sanctae ecclesiae,” and “Confiteor praeterea Domino Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, beatae Mariae perpetuae Virgini et omnibus sanctis in caelo et in terra.”

³³ *Regula non bullata*, 275–6. “Et omnes clericos et omnes religiosos habeamus pro dominis in his quae spectant ad salutem animae et a nostra religione non deviaverint, et ordinem et officium eorum et administrationem in Domino veneremur.”

³⁴ *Testamentum*, 313. “Et quamvis sim simplex et infirmus, tamen semper volo habere clericum, qui mihi faciat officium, sicut in regula continetur.” Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 15–18; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 54–5; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

license to them to carry out their priestly roles within the order. For example, in the *Rule of 1221*, he requires the clerical members to say the Divine Office and the lay friars to recite the Creed, the *Pater noster*, and the *Gloria patri*;³⁵ however, in the *Rule of 1223*, he instructs the clerical members to recite the Divine Office, while he leaves out any devotional requirements for the lay friars.³⁶ Furthermore, unlike their lay counterparts, clerical provincial ministers are directed to impose penance on friars who have committed any sin. By contrast, the lay provincial ministers have to delegate this task to clerical friars in their charge.³⁷ Moreover, Francis writes in his *Testament* that he wants the friars to revere theologians.³⁸ This injunction was sufficiently recognized within the order that one of the “We who were with him” authors refers to this passage in order to prove that the founder honored educated men.³⁹ As a result, Francis’ writings indicate that he thinks clerics are necessary to the order

³⁵ *Regula non bullata*, 246–8. “Propter hoc omnes fratres sive clerici sive laici faciant divinum officium, laudes et orationes, secundum quod debent facere. Clerici faciant officium et dicant pro vivis et pro mortuis secundum consuetudinem clericorum. Et pro defectu et negligentia fratrum dicant omni die *Miserere mei Deus* cum *Pater noster*; et pro fratribus defunctis dicant *De profundis* cum *Pater noster*. Et libros tantum necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere. Et laicis etiam scientibus legere psalterium liceat eis habere illud. Aliis vero nescientibus litteras librum habere non liceat. Laici dicant *Credo in Deum* et viginti quattuor *Pater noster* cum *Gloria Patri* pro matutino; pro laudibus vero quinque; pro prima *Credo in Deum* et septem *Pater noster* cum *Gloria Patri*; pro tertia, sexta et nona et unaquaque hora septem; pro vespere duodecim; pro completorio *Credo in Deum* et septem *Pater noster* cum *Gloria Patri*; pro mortuis septem *Pater noster* cum *Requiem aeternam*; et pro defectu et negligentia fratrum tria *Pater noster* omni die.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 43–5.

³⁶ *Regula bullata*, 229. “Clerici faciant divinum officium secundum ordinem sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae excepto psalterio, ex quo habere poterunt breviaria. Laici vero dicant viginti quattuor *Pater noster* pro matutino, pro laude quinque, pro prima, tertia, sexta, nona, pro qualibet istarum septem, pro vespere autem duodecim, pro completorio septem; et orent pro defunctis.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 43; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 367–9.

³⁷ *Regula bullata*, 232–3. “Si qui fratrum, instigante inimico, mortaliter peccaverint, pro illis peccatis, de quibus ordinatum fuerit inter fratres, ut recurratur ad solos ministros provinciales, teneantur praedicti fratres ad eos recurrere quam citius poterint, sine mora. Ipsi vero ministri, si presbyteri sunt, cum misericordia iniungant illis poenitentiam; si vero presbyteri non sunt iniungi faciant per alios sacerdotes ordinis, sicut eis secundum Deum melius videbitur expedire.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 43; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 48.

³⁸ *Testamentum*, 309–10. “Et omnes theologos et qui ministrant sanctissima verba divina, debemus honorare et venerari, sicut qui ministrant nobis spiritum et vitam.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 55; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

³⁹ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 306–7. “Non ut contempneret et despiceret sanctam scientiam; ymo eos qui erant sapientes in religione, et omnes sapientes nimio venerabatur affectu, quem admodum ipse testatur in testamento suo

because of their ability to carry out these religious rituals, he instructs clerical friars to administer to the spiritual needs of the lay friars, and he directs the lay friars to honor the clerical friars.

Additionally, Francis' respect for priests was sufficiently well known outside the Friars Minor that we find a narrative highlighting his admiration for the clergy in Stephen of Bourbon's (d. c. 1261) *Tract on Diverse Matters of Preaching* (1257), a collection of *exempla* for Dominican preachers to use in their sermons. Stephen, a former preacher and inquisitor, records two near identical versions of an *exemplum* that exhibit Francis defending the efficacy of priests. In this story, a heretic attempts to defame the Catholic faith in Lombardy by proclaiming publicly that the local priest is spiritually polluted, because he is having conjugal relations with a concubine.⁴⁰ Francis dismisses the heretic's charges by declaring that sexual pollution has no effect on the priest's ability to deliver the sacraments of his office, not even when he celebrates the Eucharist.⁴¹ To emphasize this point, Stephen

dicens: 'Omnes theologos et qui ministrant verba divina, debemus honorare et venerari tanquam qui ministrant nobis spiritum et vitam.'" Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 4. Roest notes that the "We who were with him" texts portray Francis as "staunchly opposed to learning."

⁴⁰ A. Lecoy de La Marche, ed., *Anecdotes historiques, légendes et apologues, tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon* (Paris: Librairie Renouard, H. Loones, successeur, 1877), 264–5, 304–5; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi I* (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1970–93), 354–55. The first version: "Audivi quod, cum beatus Franciscus iret per Lumbardiam, quidam paccharius sive manicheus, cum ingressus fuisset quandam ecclesiam ad orandum beatus Franciscus, videns famam sanctitatis quam habebat in populo, occurrit ei, et, volens per eum populum sibi allicere et fidem subvertere et officium sacerdotale contemptibile reddere, cum parrochialis sacerdos esset infamis in parrochia de hoc quod concubinam teneret, dixit dicto sancto: 'Ecce estne credendum dictis hujus, et factis ejus aliqua reverencia exhibenda, qui concubinam tenet et manus habet pollutas, carnes meretricis tractando?'" The second version: "Audivi quod, cum beatus Franciscus intraret quamdam villam in Lumbardia, et opinio esset ibi de ejus sanctitate, quidam hereticus, cogitans eum hominem simplicem, volens confirmare sectam suam et credentes suos in ea, qui occurrerant, videns sacerdotem ville ei occurrere, clamavit: 'Ecce, bone homo, quid dicis de isto, qui ville istius parrochiam tenet et concubinam habet et multis criminibus omnibus nobis patet obnoxius? Quid mundum potest ab eo dari vel tractari?'"

⁴¹ de La Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*, 264–5, 304–5; Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 354–55. The first version: "Attendens autem vir sanctus heretici maliciam, coram parrochianis venit ad sacerdotem illum, [et], flectens genua ante eum, ait: 'Si tales sunt manus illius quales iste dicit, nescio; et si etiam tales essent, scio quod non possunt inquinare virtutem et efficaciam divinorum sacramentorum. Sed, quia per manus istas multa beneficia Dei et carismata populo Dei fluunt, istas osculor ob reverenciam eorum que ministrant et cujus auctoritate

describes Francis as kneeling in front of the priest and kissing the man's hands,⁴² so as to demonstrate that the priest's personal sins do not derogate from his ability to carry out his spiritual functions or lessen the respect and veneration owed to him for his role as a conduit of God's grace. Since Stephen collected these *exempla* in the 1250s, one may consider these stories about Francis' appreciation of clerics and their spiritual roles were part of the collective memory of the broader religious community, not just that of the Friars Minor. Indeed, as we can see, this narrative utilizes Francis' advocacy for both Christian orthodoxy and reverence for priests. In this way, Stephen employs his stories to give greater meaning to Francis' teachings as part of the Church's engagement with those individuals whom representatives of the Church labeled as heretics.

Considering Francis' veneration of priests, it would be remarkable if he failed to provide a path for lay friars to join the priestly ranks. Several Franciscan texts, including two written by Francis himself, suggest that he encouraged education for the lay friars, as long as they kept God foremost in their minds at all times.⁴³ For instance, while the *Rule of 1223* seems to indicate that he opposed education, one can also interpret the *Rule* as provisionally approving of learning as long as the friar does not permit study to supersede his devotion to God. For example, in the chapter on "The Admonition and Correction of the Brothers," Francis writes ". . . non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere," so as to caution illiterate friars from being

administrant ea." The second version: "Advertens sanctus dolum heretici: 'Estne, inquit, iste sacerdos hujus ville de quo talia dicitis?'"

⁴² de La Marche, *Anecdotes historiques*, 264–5, 304–5; Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum*, 354–55; 354–55. The first version: "Et hoc dicens, et flectens genua coram sacerdote illo, manus ejus osculabatur, confundens hereticos et eis credentes qui aderant." The second version: "Cum dicerent: 'Est,' flexis genibus in luto, ait osculando manus ejus: 'Iste manus Dominum meum tetigerunt, nec, qualescunque sint, immundum eum facere potuerunt nec virtutem ejus imminuere. In honore Domini honora ministrum; sibi malus esse potest, mihi bonus est.' Ad quod sunt heretici confutati."

⁴³ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 12–18; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 371–3, 377–9.

overly concerned about learning to read and instead to exhort them to concentrate on inculcating the Holy Spirit within themselves through prayer and personal virtue.⁴⁴ While this injunction seems to prohibit lay friars from learning (they are not to worry about”), we can also translate this sentence in a fashion that suggests more of a recommendation (“they should not worry about,” “they must not worry about,” or “they are not to worry about”).⁴⁵

Francis expresses a similar, though more explicit, sentiment in a letter that he addressed to Anthony of Padua not long after Honorius III approved the *Rule of 1223*. Since the letter is only found in late medieval and early modern manuscripts, Paul Sabatier considered the letter to be a forgery written to validate later attitudes toward learning; however, among modern scholars, only Pietro Maranesi supports this view.⁴⁶ Other scholars, such as Carlo Paolazzi, accept the letter as legitimate or as a fake that nonetheless expresses early-thirteenth attitudes toward Franciscan education. These scholars cite the fact that Thomas of Celano’s *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* asserts that Francis did write a letter to Anthony.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ *Regula bullata*, 235–6. “Moneo vero et exhortor in Domino Jesu Christo ut caveant fratres *ab omni* superbia, vana gloria, invidia, *avaritia*, cura et sollicitudine huius saeculi detractone et murmuratione, et non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere; sed attendant, quod super omnia desiderare debent habere Spiritum Domini et sanctam eius operationem, orare semper ad eum puro corde et habere humilitatem, patientiam in persecutione et infirmitate et diligere eos qui nos persequuntur et reprehendunt et arguunt.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 51–5, 81–2; Roest, “The Franciscan School System: Re-assessing the Early Evidence (ca. 1220–1260),” in *Franciscan Organisation in the Mendicant Context: Formal and Informal Structures of the Friars’ Lives and Ministry in the Middle Ages*, ed. Michael Robson and Jens Röhrkasten, *Vita Regularis*, Abhandlungen 44 (London: Global, 2010), 255; Dominic V. Monti, “Franciscan Higher Education: A 750-Year Tradition,” in *The Franciscan Charism in Higher Education*, ed. Roberta A. McKelvie, *Spirit and Life: A Journal of Contemporary Franciscanism* 2 (St. Bonaventure, N.Y.: St. Bonaventure U., Franciscan Institute, 1992), 63.

⁴⁵ Roest, *Franciscan, Learning, Preaching, and Mission*, 14.

⁴⁶ Maranesi, *Nescientes Litteras*, 39–43; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 6–8; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 122; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 114–17.

⁴⁷ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 6–8; Carlo Paolazzi, “Francesco, la teologia e la ‘Lettera a frate Antonio,’” in *Antonio uomo evangelico. Atti del Convegno di studi (Bologna, 22–23 febbraio 1996)* (Padua: Centro Studi Antoniani, 1997), 39–61; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 360–1; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 39; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 112, 263. See 2 Celano, 225. “Et beato Antonio cum semel scriberet, sic poni fecit in principio litterae: ‘Fratri Antonio, episcopo meo.’”

Accordingly, the letter can be seen to clarify the imprecise language of the *Rule of 1223*.⁴⁸ In this letter, Francis commends Anthony for teaching theology to his fellow friars and mentions his pleasure at Anthony's endeavor. However, Francis also warns the teacher to ensure that the friars maintain their enthusiasm for prayer and devotion while studying.⁴⁹ Indeed, the approval expressed in the letter helps explain the fact that the order instituted its first "permanent" schools before Francis' death.⁵⁰

However, some scholars, such as Roest and Jacques Le Goff, argue on the basis of a story concerning the *studium* in Bologna to suggest that Francis intended in the *Rule of 1223* to establish a prohibition on education for lay friars but changed his mind before he wrote the letter to Anthony.⁵¹ In this story, provincial minister John of Strachia acquires a *studium* in which the friars are taught canon law and theology. Francis expresses anger about the *studium* because he was not consulted, he objects to the friars learning law, and he considers the building to be an infringement of Franciscan limits on poverty. The issue is resolved when the founder decides to yield rather than to stand his ground, because he sees that his ministers are set to defy him on this issue. As a result, he writes to Anthony to encourage him in his endeavor rather than to command him to stop.⁵²

To arrive at this interpretation, though, Roest conflates several narratives that were

⁴⁸ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 14–15; Kajatan Esser, "Studium und Wissenschaft im Geist des hl. Franziskus von Assisi," *Wissenschaft und Weisheit* 39 (1976): 26–41; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 59.

⁴⁹ Francis, "Epistola ad sanctum Antonium," *OSPFA*, 95. "Fatri Antonio episcopo meo frater Franciscus salutem. Placet mihi quod sacram theologiam legas fratribus, dummodo inter huius studium orationis et devotionis spiritum non exstinguas, sicut in regula continetur." Landini, *Clericalization*, 51–5.

⁵⁰ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 12.

⁵¹ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 6–8, 16–17, 23–4.

⁵² Roest, "The Franciscan School System," 256–7; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 6–8, 16–17, 22–3; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 71–2; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 105–6, 256–7.

written between 1240 and 1370 and that projects tensions back on to the 1220s. Indeed, the texts composed in the 1220s and 1230s provide no indications of conflict in Bologna. For instance, Thomas of Split (1200–1268)—the only writer who presents himself as an eyewitness to one of Francis’ visits to Bologna—writes in his *Historia Salonitana* (1250–1265) that the founder came to the city in 1222. In this narrative, Thomas was a resident in a *studium* in Bologna when Francis preached, and he recounts how the city’s residents mobbed the founder.⁵³ Since Thomas describes the enthusiasm that people exhibited for Francis in the 1220s, his description serves to highlight the popularity that the Friars Minor enjoyed as well as Thomas’ support for the order. Additionally, while Gregory IX issued the bull *Illius qui timentium* in 1236 to permit the friars in Bologna to build a *studium* for the benefit of the city’s citizens,⁵⁴ the pope does not intimate that any conflict existed within the Friars Minor regarding the construction of this building. Indeed, the only tension indicated within the bull concerns the utilization of the goods acquired from usurers to pay for the construction of the *studium*.⁵⁵

⁵³ Thomas of Split, “Historia Pontificia Salonitanorum et Spalatensium,” in *MGH SS* 29 (Hanover: Hahn, 1897), 580; “Eodem anno in die assumptionis Dei genitricis, cum essem Bononie in studio, vidi sanctum Franciscum predicantem in platea ante palacium publicum, ubi tota pene civitas convenerat. Fuit autem exordium sermonis eius: ‘Angeli, homines, demones,’ de his enim tribus spiritibus racionalibus ita bene et discrete proposuit, ut multis literatis, qui aderant, fieret admiracioni non modice sermo hominis ydiote; nec tamen ipse modum predicantis tenuit, sed quasi concionantis. Tota vero verborum eius discurebat materies ad extinguendas inimicicias et ad pacis federa reformanda; sordidus erat habitus, persona contemptibilis et facies indecora, sed tantam Deus verbis illius contulit efficaciam, ut multe tribus nobilium, inter quas antiquarum inimiciciarum furor immanis multa sanguinis effusione fuerat debachatus, ad pacis consilium reducerentur. Erga ipsum vero tam magna erat reverencia hominum et devocio, ut viri et mulieres in eum catervatim ruerent, satagentes vel fimbriam eius tangere aut aliquid de paniculis eius auferre.”

⁵⁴ Gregory IX, “*Illius qui timentium* (1236),” in *BF*, 196. “Ecclesiam, et Domos contemplantium, ac studentium usibus opportunas in Civitate Bononiensi aedificare coeperint ad honorem, et gloriam Redemptoris.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 66–7.

⁵⁵ Gregory IX, “*Illius qui timentium* (1236),” in *BF*, 196–7. “Cum itaque in Civitate, et Dioecesi Bononiensi quidam esse dicantur, qui aliqua bona per usurariam pravitatem, vel alium modum illicitum consecuti, et in usus pios sunt erogare parati, pro eo quod illi, quibus restituenda essent, vel ipsorum haeredes inveniri non possunt; praesentium tibi auctoritate concedimus, ut bona huiusmodi ad petitionem talium detentorum in subsidium operis memorati convertas; exceptis bonis, quae deberi Praelatis, vel Ecclesiis dignoscuntur; ita tamen, vel Ecclesiis dignoscuntur; ita tamen, quod eorundem detentorum numerus ad quartum decimum restringatur.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 66–7.

Although Franciscan texts that were composed between 1240 and 1320 and which mention Bologna do not refer to a *studium*, they do reflect concerns over whether or not the friars had *dominium* (the possession for personal use without having ownership)⁵⁶ over their convents or whether the convents represented an appropriate level of poverty for an order that rejected wealth. For example, since Thomas of Celano included stories in his *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* (1245–1247) that were collected by Crescentius of Iesi, this *legendum* refers to tensions that were fermenting in the order’s collective memory in the 1230s and 1240s. In his version of the story, Thomas refers to a convent, not a *studium*, and to the manner in which the founder expresses concern over whether or not the friars had *dominium* of it. Cardinal Hugolino resolves this conflict by proclaiming that the house is his.⁵⁷ While Thomas’ story was the first to indicate problems related to *dominium*, the Sabatier edition of the *Mirror of Perfection* (1318) repeats that story and again concentrates on whether or not the friars had *dominium* of the convent.⁵⁸ Since the *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* manifests tensions that arose in the 1240s, and the *Book of Chronicles or of the Tribulations of the Order of the Lesser Brothers* is informed by debates from the 1320s,

⁵⁶ The scholarship on *dominium* is rather extensive. For a broader discussion of this subject, see Brooke, *Image*, 77–101.

⁵⁷ 2 Celano, 166. “De Verona quodam tempore rediens et per Bononiam transire volens audit fratrum domum noviter ibi esse constructam. Qui, eo quod ‘fratrum domum’ verbum insonuit, gressum vertit, et Bononiam non accedens, aliunde pertransiit. Mandat denique fratribus domum festinanter exire. Propter quod, relicta domo, etiam infirmi non remanent, sed eiciuntur cum aliis. Nec redeundi licentia datur, donec dominus Hugo tunc Ostiensis episcopus et in Lombardia legatus, domum praedictam publice praedicando suam esse proclamat. *Testimonium perhibet et scribit haec* ille, qui tunc de domo aegrotus eiectus fuit.” See Landini, *Clericalization*, 66–7.

⁵⁸ Sabatier, ed., *Speculum perfectionis seu, S. Francisci Assisiensis legenda antiquissima, auctore fratre Leone* (Paris: Fischbacher, 1898), 15–16. “Transiens autem per Bononiam audivit domum fratrum noviter ibi esse constructam. Qui statim ut audivit quod domus illa diceretur esse fratrum gressum vertit et de civitate exivit atque mandavit districte quod omnes fratres exirent festinanter et ibi nullatenus habitarent. Exierunt autem omnes fratres ita ut etiam infirmi non remanerent ibidem sed eum aliis sunt ejecti, donec dominus Hugo Ostiensis episcopus et legatus in Lombardia praedictam domum esse suam publice praedicavit. Et frater existens infirmus qui de ea domo tunc fuit eiectus testimonium perhibet de hiis et scripsit hoc.”

these texts are unreliable as guides to the true nature of events in Bologna in the 1220s.⁵⁹

As for the portrayal of friction between Francis and the Bolognese friars with respect to an inadequate display of poverty, this issue appears for the first time in Angelo of Clareno's *Book of Chronicles or of the Tribulations of the Order of the Lesser Brothers* (1323–1326). In his text, Angelo describes Francis as arriving in Bologna and deciding to stay with the Dominicans, because the Franciscans' convent fails to reflect the order's dedication to poverty.⁶⁰ However, as the nominal leader of the Spirituals in the 1290s and early 1320s, Angelo wrote his chronicle to encapsulate the order's history within an eschatological framework. Indeed, his chronicle casts the Spirituals as the sole guardians of Francis' ideals.⁶¹ With his addition of poverty into the story and his contextualization of the narrative within Spiritualist ideals, Angelo's text encodes extra layers of meaning in the tale that embed it in an eternal struggle between God and those friars who adhered to a simple interpretation of the *Rule of 1223* on one side, and Lucifer cunningly tempting those friars who endangered their souls by tolerated a more lax interpretation of the *Rule* on the other.

Additionally, the first texts to suggest a problem over the subject of learning between Francis and the friars in Bologna are Arnold of Sarrant's *passiones*, written after 1360. According to Arnold's *Kinship of Saint Francis*, published in 1365, provincial minister John de Schiaccia founds a *studium* in Bologna so that the friars in his care can learn theology; however, he neglects to acquire the founder's permission beforehand. On discovering the

⁵⁹ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 24.

⁶⁰ Angelo Clareno, *Liber Chronicarum sive Tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*, ed. P. Giovanni Boccali (Assisi: Edizioni Porziuncola, 1999), 1, 158. "Vidi ego fratrem qui audivit eum Bononiae praedicantem; et qui hoc viderant, referebant quod intrans civitatem, cum voluisset ad suorum fratrum declinare locum, vidit ibi domum aedificatam promissae paupertatis terminos excedentem. Et retrocedens, ivit ad domum praedicatorum, qui cum magno gaudio receperunt eum."

⁶¹ Burr, "A Time to Live, a Time to Die: Angelo Clareno on Martyrdom," *FS* 70 (2012): 411–14.

existence of the *studium*, Francis rebukes the minister, saying that prayer is more important than the ability to read, and he orders the friars to tear down the *studium*. When John de Schiaccia ignores his superior's desires and rebuilds the *studium*, the founder lays a curse on the minister, a curse that causes the man to die.⁶² As indicated in Chapter 4, Arnold's *passiones* express concerns related to the Spirituals in the fourteenth century; however, this story touches on their anxieties regarding Franciscans who took positions of authority outside of the order. Indeed, the more educated Friars Minor were by the 1300s increasingly elevated to such positions as bishop, cardinal, and pope, and the Spirituals considered such positions of authority as compromising these friars' vows of poverty and tempting them with corruption.⁶³ In this way, the fourteenth-century Spirituals employed this story about Bologna to criticize education as a destabilizing influence on Franciscan poverty. Within this context, Arnold's presentation of the subject is not very different from Angelo's, since they are both concerned about the relationship between poverty and education within the framework of simplicity versus active participation in the world; however, Arnold brings out the eschatological elements more by adding how God enforced Francis' curse and killed the disobedient provincial minister.

As a result, it is arguable that Roest has integrated all of these narratives about the *studium* in Bologna into a single story when they should be considered separately. When taken chronologically, the evolution of this narrative shows indications that each generation of Friars Minor imbued the story with significance to that generation. However, when these

⁶² Marian Michalczyk, "Une compilation Parisienne des sources primitives franciscaines Paris, Nationale, ms. Lat. 12707," *AFH* 76: 33–4. "Contigit semel quod frater Iohannes de Schiaccia, minister Bononie, qui erat multum litteratus, non requisito beato Francisco et ipso absente, ordinavit studium Bononie." Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 54–9.

⁶³ Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 6–10.

stories are conflated into a single narrative, it seems to suggest that Francis was opposed to studying but had conceded that the order's regional hierarchy would ignore his proscriptions against learning. Feeling hedged in by the hierarchy, he expressed his grudging acceptance of lay education with his letter to Anthony.⁶⁴ In this way, Roest's interpretation not only retrojects tensions regarding Franciscan education that Angelo and Arnold as Spiritual Franciscans presented in the fourteenth century onto events in the early 1220s, it also presupposes a rapid volte-face on Francis' part in regard to dealing with Anthony's teaching. Moreover the text of the letter to Anthony fails to betray, as Roest asserts, any misgivings by Francis regarding the friars studying theology in general terms, since the founder states, as noted above, that he is pleased by Anthony's activity. Additionally, while fragmentary, the evidence from the early to mid-thirteenth century indicates that the general ministers encouraged the friars to learn.⁶⁵

It is only after 1240, with Franciscan legislation and Bonaventure's commentaries, that the order's hierarchy emphasized the division between illiterate and literate friars; however, these texts need to be placed within the contexts of Gregory IX's recommendations as voiced in the bull *Gloriantibus vobis* (1241), the order's acceptance of more clerical than lay novices, and the friars' debates regarding the relationship of simplicity and education. While the first two topics are discussed here, the third needs to be delayed until later in this chapter.

The earliest legislation that forbade certain friars from studying appeared sometime between 1239 and 1254 in the *Pre-Narbonne Constitutions*,⁶⁶ wherein the most uneducated

⁶⁴ Roest, "The Franciscan School System," 256, 259–60.

⁶⁵ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 25–6.

⁶⁶ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 210–85; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 52–3. Brooke's analysis of the Pre-Narbonne and Narbonne predates the discovery of the Pre-Narbonne constitutions by Caesar Cenci. However, her exploration of this legislation as found in other texts is still useful.

lay members were banned from acquiring a theological education, thereby formalizing a division between illiterate and literate friars. Brooke asserts that Haymo of Faversham enacted this legislation in 1242 and, in so doing, moved the order more toward a clerical institution. However, she suggests that this legislation came in response to the abuses discharged during Elias of Cortona's ministership.⁶⁷ In the *Pre-Narbonne Constitutions*, article 107 expressly forbids friars who cannot already read the Psalter from learning their letters, and it bars other friars from teaching the illiterate friars how to read.⁶⁸ This prohibition is repeated in the *Constitutions of Narbonne*.⁶⁹ To be sure, this legislation does not completely disallow all friars from studying, but only those who cannot read Latin. As it is, articles 108, 109, 111, and 112 in the *Pre-Narbonne Constitutions*⁷⁰ and articles 12 through 19 of rubric VI in the *Constitutions of Narbonne*⁷¹ encourage further learning on the

⁶⁷ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 120, 123–4; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 50–3.

⁶⁸ *Vestigia*, 92. Article 107: “Prohibemus ut de cetero fratres, qui nesciunt legere psalterium, litteras non addiscant, nec alii eos doceant.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 82; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 19, 45–6, 48–9, 52–3; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 52–3; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 243–5; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126–7. Brooke asserts that the general chapter at Bologna approved this legislation in 1242.

⁶⁹ *Narbonne*, 71. Rubric VI, article 11: “Prohibemus, ut de cetero fratres qui nesciunt legere psalterium, litteras non addiscant, nec alii eos doceant.” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 87–8.

⁷⁰ *Vestigia*, 92. Article 108: Et de laicatu ad clericatum nullus ascendat absque licentia generalis.” Article 109: “Item, nullus frater ordines recipiat sine licentia sui provincialis ministri vel custodiei, cui provincialis minister licentiam dederit.” Article 111: “Item vult generale capitulum quod ministri in suis provinciis ordinent studia in artibus pro iuvenibus provincie instruendis.” Article 112: “Statuimus quod pro qualibet provintia possint esse duo studentes Parisius. Provideatur autem missis ad studium pro lectoribus a provintiis suis in libris et necessariis scriptis.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 191.

⁷¹ *Narbonne*, 72. Rubric VI, Article 12: “Item mittendi Parisius ad studendum, primo exercentur tribus vel duobus annis post novitiatum in aliquo studio suae provinciae vel vicinae, nisi adeo fuerint litterati, quod post novitiatum continuo possint mitti. Non mittantur tamen nisi de auctoritate Ministri, cum consilio et assensu capituli provincialis.” Article 13: “Taliter autem missi studeant quattuor annis ad minus, nisi adeo fuerint provecti, quod merito iudicentur idonei ad lectoris officium exsequendum.” Article 14: “Circa mittendos autem attendatur, quod sint ad proficiendum habiles, fortes corpore, eloquentiae bonae et conversationis honestae, non contentiosi, sed ‘mites et pacifici’ inter fratres.” Article 15: “Teneantur autem fratres mittere illos quos iudicaverint magis idoneos secundum conditiones praemissas. Si autem aliquem miserint, qui propter defectus notabiles sit indignus, tribus diebus tantum in pane et aqua ieiunent, illi scilicet quorum consilio est transmissus.” Article 16: “[Idem modus teneatur circa illos qui ad alia generalia. Studia transmittuntur. — Et eidem praecepto et poenae subiaceat, qui scienter consuluerit de aliquo vel praesentaverit aliquem ad praedicationis vel confessionis officium, de cuius vita et

part of friars who can read Latin. In fact, these articles pertain to sending friars to *studia* and universities to learn. Moreover, this legislation would have pertained more to the offspring of peasants or poor townspeople, since the children of patricians and the more prosperous political functionaries received some schooling.⁷² Indeed, those friars who came from the more affluent social classes did become clerics.⁷³

These regulations are reflective of two external pressures faced by the Franciscans: papal guidance and popular demand. Keeping in mind that the order's hierarchy had otherwise supported education for all of its members, it should be recognized that Gregory IX's bull *Gloriantibus vobis* (1241) enjoins the provincial ministers to choose novices with care and cautions them to admit only those novices that the order might find useful and who can edify others with the example of their conversion.⁷⁴ While this directive could in principle relate to any skill sets that such novices might have, the counsel regarding "edifying speech" suggests some level of theological education. At the same time, a much larger number of literate laity were requesting permission to join the order during the 1240s than were illiterate ones. In fact, the order's growth in this period occurred largely at university centers in various parts of

spe proficiendi in exsecutione iniungendi talis sibi officii probabiliter dubitatur." Article 17: "Quodsi aliquis se vel alium per saeculares personas procuraverit mitti ad Studium generale, ipso facto omnibus officiis Ordinis sit privatus, quousque per Generalem secum fuerit dispensatum." Article 18: "Insuper quicumque procuraverit se ad Ordinis officia promoveri, sicut indignus ab omnibus officiis repellatur." Article 19: Possit autem quaelibet provincia habere duos studentes Parisius sine aliqua provisione; quibus provideatur in libris secundum arbitrium provlis capituli et Ministri."

⁷² Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 243–5; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 119–22, 126–8.

⁷³ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 129–34.

⁷⁴ Gregory IX, "Glorantibus vobis (1241)," in *BF*, 298. "Ita tamen, ut non passim admittantur converti volentes; sed illi soli, qui et Ordini utiles, et alii aedificari valeant suae conversionis exemplo." Landini, *Clericalization*, 67, 78, 122, 133.

Europe.⁷⁵ With these pressures, the Franciscan hierarchy were in a position to enact legislation that permitted them to focus financial resources and the provision of books on friars who already exhibited a foundation of knowledge and a capability for learning.

Despite this legislation, members of the Franciscan hierarchy who commented after 1240 on the *Rule of 1223* nonetheless tended to agree that Francis had permitted the friars to study as long as they remembered that devotion to God came first. For his part, Hugh of Digne (d. c. 1285), provincial minister of Provence, writes in his *Commentary on the Rule* (1252/53 or 1255) that Francis preferred that the illiterate and lay friars refrain from studying but that the founder did not prohibit them from such activity.⁷⁶ Meanwhile, Bonaventure provides two different interpretations of Francis' intentions regarding education for the friars. When he was serving as a master at the University of Paris, Bonaventure wrote in his *Exposition on the Rule of the Friars Minor* (1241–1242) that Francis' intention was to curb uneducated friars from becoming distracted by curiosity but that the founder did not intend to inhibit these friars from learning. Indeed, friars were obligated to study if they have been ordered to so.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Landini, *Clericalization*, 67; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 243–5; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126–7; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 58; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 164, 171–88.

⁷⁶ David Flood, *Hugh of Digne's Rule Commentary*, Spicilegium Bonaventurianum cura PP. Collegii S. Bonaventurae XIV, (Grottaferrata, Rome: Editiones Collegii S. Bonaventurae Ad Claras Aquas, 1979), 11–12, 186–7. “Sed cum regula dicat quod *non curent nescientes litteras litteras discere*, et Dominus in evangelio: *Nolite vocari rabbi*; numquid fratres studium litterarum et maxime cathedram magisterii possunt assumere? Possunt utique. Non sanctus regulae conditor litteratis sed laicis et illiteratis studium vetat, ut unusquisque secundum apostolum in qua vocatione vocatus est in ea permaneat. Nescientes litteras litteras discere noluit. Sed scientes litteras in litteris proficere non vetuit. Alioquin suae contrarius regulae ipse fuisset, qui existens in Ordine cum paucas litteras sciret, postmodum non solum orando sed etiam legendo profecit. Et alios fratres in divinis studere litteris voluit. Et ut sacrae scripturae doctores in magna reverentia haberent mandavit, tamquam illos a quibus perciperent verba vitae.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 82; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 61; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 126–8; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 81–6, 91–6; Landini, *Clericalization*, 81–4, 97, 99, 124, 129, 135.

⁷⁷ Bonaventure of Bagnoregio, “Expositio Super Regulam FF. Minorum,” in *Opera*, 43. “Curiositatem etiam laicorum cohibet, dicens: ‘Et non curent nescientes litteras,’ id est laici, ‘litteras discere.’ In quo verbo curiositatem cohibet, non tamen inhibet, quin ipsi teneantur litteras discere, si eis fuerit imperatum.” Landini, *Clericalization*, 82.

Twenty years later, however, Bonaventure's thoughts on the subject aligned more with the legislation in the *Pre-Narbonne Constitutions*. For example, in his *Letter on Three Questions to an Unnamed Teacher* (1254), he reiterates what the founder wrote in the *Rule* and underscores Francis' admonition by relating that 1 Corinthians 7:20 commands "Let every man abide in the same calling in which he was called."⁷⁸ Indeed, Bonaventure asserts that Francis fostered learning among his followers as long as they were not illiterate lay friars. For evidence of Francis' positive attitude toward learning, Bonaventure tells a story about how, whenever a copy of the New Testament came into the founder's possession, he separated the folios so that each friar had part of the Gospels to read and to study at the same time.⁷⁹ When answering a few questions about the *Rule* after 1260, general minister Bonaventure clarifies that it is important for friars to study theology if they are to preach and to hear confessions. When performing these functions, the friars need to know Church doctrine if they are to avoid disseminating errors to the laity.⁸⁰ It can be seen that Bonaventure's language regarding whether or not illiterate lay friars were permitted to study became more nuanced after the order's legislation unequivocally banned these friars from learning.

⁷⁸ Bonaventure, "Epistola de Tribus Quaestionibus ad Magistrum Innominatum," in *Opera*, 334–5. "Vult enim iuxta Apostolum, quod, 'unusquisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, permaneat,' ut ad clericatum de laicatu nullus ascendat, nec vult, quod clerici efficiantur laici studium recusando." Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 377–8; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 128–9, 191–2.

⁷⁹ Bonaventure, "Epistola de Tribus Quaestionibus," in *Opera*, 334–5. "Vult enim iuxta Apostolum, quod, 'unusquisque in ea vocatione, qua vocatus est, permaneat,' ut ad clericatum de laicatu nullus ascendat, nec vult, quod clerici efficiantur laici studium recusando." Bonaventure expands on this theme in "Apologia pauperum," in *Opera*, 320; and "Collatio XVII in Hexameron," in *Opera*, 413, 422, 440. Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 356–7, 377–9.

⁸⁰ Bonaventure, "Determinaciones Quaestionum circa Regulam Fratrum Minorum Pars I," in *Opera*, 339. "Cum, sicut dictum est, praedicationis officium ex regulari professione Ordini annexum sit et confessionis, quae notitiam requirunt sacrae Scripturae, quae subtili indiget in plerisque locis expositione, ne ex imperitia errores pro veritate doceamus; necesse est, nos sacrae Scripturae habere studium et magistros." Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 356–7, 377–9; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 83–4.

Jordan is rather muted in the *Chronica* on the process of education within the Friars Minor; nonetheless, he conveys an atmosphere in which the friars were allowed to learn. For example, he notes that some friars, including himself, were admitted entry to the order as deacons. Indeed, he indicates that provincial minister Caesar of Speyer admitted several friars as deacons between 1221 and 1223 and later elevated them to the priesthood. These Franciscans include Palmerus,⁸¹ Abraham the Hungarian,⁸² Andrew the German,⁸³ and Jordan himself.⁸⁴ Additionally, when general minister John Parenti heard in 1228 that the province of Saxony lacked a lector of theology, he appointed Simon to the position.⁸⁵ In 1230, under the ministership of John the Englishman, Bartholomew the Englishman was appointed as lector for the province.⁸⁶ Although the establishment of a lector in Saxony

⁸¹ Jordan, 42, 47. Chapter 19: “Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum . . . Palmero dyacono.” Chapter 28: “[F]ecit tres promoveri, videlicet Palmerium, de quo dictum est supra . . .” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28.

⁸² Jordan, 42, 47. Chapter 19: “Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum . . . Abraham Ungaro.” Chapter 28: “[F]ecit tres promoveri . . . Abraham Ungarum . . .” Although, Jordan does not explicitly say that Abraham the Hungarian was a deacon, this detail is suggested in chapter 19 by his inclusion of Abraham among the priestly and educated friars and then with the friar’s elevation to the priesthood in chapter 28. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28.

⁸³ Jordan, 45, 47. Chapter 25: “Eodem anno frater Cesarius veniens Herbipolim recepit ad ordinem iuvenem abilem et litteratum nomine Harthmodum. Quem Italici nominare nescientes Andream appellabant, eo quod in die beati Andree ad ordinem est receptus.” Chapter 28: “[F]ecit tres promoveri . . . Andream Theutonicum, qui ante Hartmodus vocabatur . . .” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–9.

⁸⁴ Jordan, 42, 47. Chapter 19: “Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum . . . fratre Jordane de Jano dyacono.” Chapter 30: “Eadem anno 15. kalendas aprilis frater Cesarius fecit quartum sacerdotem in ordine promoveri, videlicet fratrem Jordanum de Yane vallis spoletane.” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28.

⁸⁵ Jordan, 56. Chapter 54: Eodem anno frater Johannes Parens generalis minister audiens quod Theutonia lectorem in theologia non haberet, absolvit fratrem Simonem a ministerio Theutonie et lectorem eum instituit, et fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis in ministrum Theutonie destinavit. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–9; Šenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 55–6.

⁸⁶ Jordan, 57–8. Chapter 58: “Scripsit ergo minister generalis ministro Francie, ut fratrem Johannem Anglicum mitteret pro ministro Saxonie et fratrem Bartholomeum Anglicum pro lectore.” Chapter 60: “Anno domini 1231. frater Jordanus custos Thuringie in Saxoniam rediens misit fratrem Johannem de Penna cum fratre Adeodato Parisius pro fratre Johanne Anglico ministro et pro fratre Bartholomeo lectore, ut ipsos honorifice conduceret in Saxoniam.”

occurred after Francis' death, it nonetheless suggests that the provincial ministers in Saxony during the 1220s promoted learning among the order's members.⁸⁷

Consequently, the indications within the *Chronica* that the friars were licensed to continue learning after their entry into the Friars Minor appears to be in line with Francis' writings, later commentaries on the *Rules*, and the order's legislation. Even though the order's hierarchy enacted legislation that suggests that they thought that some friars were too illiterate to be educated, this legislation can also be construed as an institutional response to focus resources on friars who already had an educational foundation. Indeed, considering that some of the early to mid thirteenth-century texts indicate that illiterate and semi-literate friars attempted to study, it is important to remember that the friars were not differentiated according to their ability to read and write in a legal sense until this legislation was enacted, while these tensions only became pronounced in the fourteenth century.

Simplicity Versus Education within a Clericalized Franciscan Order

As discussed before, Jordan's narratives about Nicholas the Humble exhibit a tension between the two men that results from the clericalization of the order; however, since both friars were educated, that conflict did not arise from different levels of literacy. In this way, Jordan eschews discussing this topic in terms of illiterate versus literate and instead presents Nicholas as a learned advocate of simplicity and himself as an educated proponent of serving in positions of authority.⁸⁸

Much of the scholarship on the relationship of simplicity and education in the context of

⁸⁷ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 54–9.

⁸⁸ Jordan, 52–4. Chapters 47, 49.

the clericalization of the Friars Minor has characterized Francis as championing simplicity and as denouncing education. For example, Michael Robson portrays Francis as distrustful of education and as promoting simplicity as much as possible of learning.⁸⁹ However, he also notes that many individuals inside and outside the order advised the friars to embrace theological study and that Anthony of Padua served as the order's first lector.⁹⁰ For her part, Şenocak maintains that Francis wanted his followers to adopt a life of simplicity and to shun education.⁹¹ By contrast, scholars who concentrate on education within the order note that the friars needed books to learn. For instance, Hilarin Felder states that clerical friars were obligated to study, and that they needed books for this task.⁹² Additionally, Michael Robson asserts that the friars' educational efforts necessitated that they accumulated books, particularly in university libraries.⁹³ Şenocak counters such scholarship by citing a passage in Thomas of Celano's *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* in which Francis reportedly describes his ideal general minister. Even though such a minister could be highly educated, he should nonetheless conduct himself as a model of simplicity and should never have *dominium* over more than one little book.⁹⁴ Although she indicates that this is Thomas'

⁸⁹ Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 58.

⁹⁰ Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 59–60; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 56–7.

⁹¹ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 76–96.

⁹² Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 186–206, 355–61, 369–70. Indeed, Felder writes that “it is established that Francis did not intend to forbid books to his brothers and monasteries. He allowed indeed only the use of those things which were necessary to their livelihood and becoming to their vocation. Under this category, however, he reckoned no doubt the indispensable books.” Emphasis is in the original.

⁹³ Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 65.

⁹⁴ 2 Celano, 235–7. “Homo debet esse, qui *personarium acceptione* sordidum non faciat angulum, apud quem minorum et simplicium non minus cura vigeat quam sapientium vel maiorum. Homo cui etsi concessum est litteraturae dono praecellere, plus tamen in moribus piae simplicitatis imaginem gerat, foveatque virtutem.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49–50.

presentation of the founder, she also suggests that this passage represents Francis' attitudes toward the relationship between simplicity and education within the order.⁹⁵

Since, as indicated above, the early to mid thirteenth-century texts suggest that Francis and the hierarchy encouraged education, we need to reconsider the relationship between simplicity and education. It is suggested in this section that debates over education in the Friars Minor in the early to mid thirteenth century were expressed in two different ways: proponents of education extolled the benefits of learning for all friars while advocates of simplicity warned about the sinful practice of having *dominium* of books.

For their part, proponents of education in the Friars Minor in the early to mid thirteenth century focused their arguments on chiding particular illiterate friars for their laziness and on praising the virtues of learning. The first writer to touch on this subject was Jacques de Vitry, a non-Franciscan, and he positioned his critique of Franciscan debates regarding education within a depiction of the ways in which a friar is useful. Even though he was an outside observer of the order, Jacques delivered a sermon to the friars in Italy shortly after 1228, in which he separated the friars into four groups: ants, rabbits, locusts, and lizards. In this configuration of the order, the ants are simple lay friars who work with their hands and beg alms from the laity, thereby laboring to collect food for the rest of the friars.⁹⁶ By contrast, the rabbits are weak or infirm and therefore unable to contribute to the order's welfare except

⁹⁵ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49–50.

⁹⁶ Hilarin Felder, "Jacobi Vitriacensis (1180–1240): Sermones ad Fratres Minores," *Analecta Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Capuchinorum* 19 (1903): 116; "Qui *formicae* comparantur, quae parvum est animal et multum laborat in congregando et parando sibi victum." Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 286; J. Bougerol "Le Origini e la Finalita dello Studio nell'Ordine Francescano," *Antonianum* 53 (1978), 405; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 59.

to maintain hope for the other friars.⁹⁷ The locusts, who represent eremitical friars, raise the Franciscans on wings of contemplation that lead to reason and divine comprehension through their hard labor in meditation, reading, and prayer.⁹⁸ Meanwhile, the lizards preach salvation to the laity,⁹⁹ thereby bringing men and women to orthodoxy and leading converts to the order. Jacques not only saw utility in the different roles that the friars undertook, he also anticipated that they could move freely from one role to another.

More to the point, Jacques also divides the friars in terms of their willingness to learn versus their devotion to simplicity, and he uses the friars' ability to move between these roles as represented by animals in order to make a sharp contrast between those friars who learned skills that would help them to perform various activities and those friars who he considered to be dull-witted or lazy. Although he identifies some friars as lacking cleverness, he suggests that they can nonetheless memorize a biblical passage each day through avid study and in this way become more learned. He also rebukes some lay friars for hiding behind simplicity as a means to avoid study, since these friars believe that any education breeds arrogance.¹⁰⁰ For these friars, Jacques suggests that the best way for anyone to become closer

⁹⁷ Felder, "Jacobi Vitriacensis": 116. "Si igitur non possit *lepusculus*, plebs invalida, tantum jejulare, vigilare, vel alia opera poenitentiae facere, non desperet vel deficiat, sed cubile suum in petra ponat et in Christi misericordia quiescat, qui pro nobis in cruce poenitentiam fecit et defectus nostros supplevit." Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 286–7.

⁹⁸ Felder, "Jacobi Vitriacensis": 116. "Qui *locustis* comparantur propter saltum contemplationis et volatum sublimis conversationis" . . . "Hi etsi manibus more *stellionis* nitantur, ipsi tamen in domibus superni regis commorantur, semper in coelistibus mansionibus corda habentes et pro praemio vitae aeternae laborantes." Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 287.

⁹⁹ Felder, "Jacobi Vitriacensis": 116. "Alii vero ad praedicandum exeunt et operibus active proximorum salutem intendunt. Hi etsi manibus more *stellionis* nitantur, ipsi tamen in domibus superni regis commorantur, semper in coelistibus mansionibus corda habentes ei pro praemio vitae aeternae laborantes." Robson, "Sermons Preached to the Friars Minor," 286.

¹⁰⁰ Felder, "Sermones ad Fratres Minores": 121; Landini, *Clericalization*, 26–7. "Quidem transmiseri et vecordes, pigritiae suae solatium quaerentes, dicunt, quod non oportet studere, sed securius est quod maneant Fratres in suae simplicitatis humilitate, eo quod scientia infiat, et multae litterae faciunt insanire"

to God is not to avoid knowledge of Him but instead for the person to fill him- or herself with God's words as found in Scripture.¹⁰¹ Since Jacques was a well-educated preacher, it can be supposed that he regarded with scorn those religious who looked askance at theological education. After all, he knew from experience that learning Scripture permitted a friar to preach in public and to deliver more efficacious sermons, since the friar could more ably explain orthodox doctrine to the laity.¹⁰²

General Minister Bonaventure of Bagnoregio (1221–1274, g.m. 1257–1274) later voices a similar, though more vague, complaint by condemning some friars for their idleness. Since Bonaventure was not present at the general chapter at which he was elected in 1257, he wrote a letter to the order to outline problems that he intended to address during his tenure as general minister. Among these issues, Bonaventure mentions that some friars choose to be lazy rather than to practice either an active or a contemplative life, and he claims that they feed on the blood of the living through their indolence.¹⁰³ If we consider Bonaventure's portrayal within the context of Jacques' conception of the Friars Minor, it is likely that he is not referring to those friars who Jacques signifies as lizards (preachers), ants (beggars), or locusts (contemplatives), because these three groups choose active or contemplative lives. It is also possible that he is not commenting on those friars who Jacques designates as rabbits (the infirm), since these friars suffer from illness, old age, or other ailments that prevent them from being more functional in the order. While the category of "idle" friars is sufficiently

¹⁰¹ Felder, "Sermones ad Fratres Minores": 121. "Licet igitur simplex frater non multum ingenio calleat, solerti studio defectum ingenii suppleat."

¹⁰² Monti, "Franciscan Higher Education," 62.

¹⁰³ Bonaventure, "Epistola 1," in *Opera*, 469. "Occurrit quorundam Fratrum otiositas, quae sentina est omnium vitiorum, qua plurimi consopiti, monstruosum quendam statum inter contemplativam et activam eligentes, non tam carnaliter quam crudeliter sanguinem comedunt animarum." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 57–60; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 86–7.

large and opaque to suggest friars who avoid any kind of exertion, it can be supposed that Bonaventure had in mind particularly those friars who embrace simplicity to the exclusion of any activity, including studying to learn Scripture. After all, a friar could claim simplicity and its concomitant assertion that he wants to avoid endangering his soul so as to refuse to participate in many activities. Although Bonaventure is not as explicit in his condemnation as Jacques is, it can still be supposed that he marks out as lazy those friars who cited simplicity as their justification for refusing to undertake an active life.

While Jacques (a clerical observer of the order) and Bonaventure (a Franciscan university master and general minister) characterize friction over clericalization within the order in terms of advocates of simplicity who disdained studying, Thomas of Celano commends the benefits of study in his *Life of Saint Francis*, where he indicates that educated friars enjoy two distinct advantages over their illiterate confreres. The first blessing is the eloquence that God granted to Provincial Minister John of Florence and the second reward is the knowledge of Scripture acquired by Anthony of Padua. In his narrative of the provincial chapter in Provence, Thomas relates that God endowed John with such eloquence that the friars were undistracted listeners,¹⁰⁴ indicating that God encourages the ability to speak well, since persuasive rhetoric can bring others closer to orthodoxy and, therefore, closer to Him. Furthermore, we are told that Anthony, who delivers a sermon at the same chapter, is able to entrance the friars and to fill them with the Holy Spirit, because God has given him mastery of Scripture for this purpose.¹⁰⁵ This story suggests that Anthony's familiarity with Scripture

¹⁰⁴ 1 Celano, 38. "Referam unum inter alia quod, fidelibus testibus referentibus, agnovi. Cum tempore quodam frater Ioannes de Florentia esset a sancto Francisco minister fratrum in Provincia constitutus et capitulum fratrum in eadem provincia celebrasset, Dominus Deus solita pietate *ostium* ei *sermonis* aperuit, et fratres omnes ad audiendum reddidit benevolos et attentos." Landini, *Clericalization*, 64–6; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 56–7.

¹⁰⁵ 1 Celano, 38. "Intererat etiam illi capitulo frater Antonius, cuius Dominus *aperuit sensum, ut intelligeret Sripturas*, et *super mel et favum* de Iesu verba dulcia eructaret in populo universo. — Qui cum fratribus

enables him to give a sermon that delivers as much of an impact on his audience as does John's eloquence. Consequently, Thomas intimates that illiterate and semiliterate friars should aspire to become eloquent and knowledgeable of Scripture since God approves of those who learn skills that help them to become much better preachers and who are more able to bring people closer to God.

Advocates of simplicity also frame the debate as simplicity versus education, though they employ different details within their narratives. In fact, friars who were sympathetic to or who championed the Franciscan concept of simplicity do not criticize clerical friars or education; instead, these friars castigate those lay friars who abandon simplicity for study. These advocates do so by characterizing these students as having *dominium* of books, which is forbidden by the *Rule* and is therefore an indication of these friars' sinfulness. In fact, it was difficult for these friars to assail learned clerics and theologians, since, as discussed above, the founder expresses throughout his writings a sincere appreciation for such men. In fact, Francis' desire for the friars to revere theologians and priests¹⁰⁶ was sufficiently well known that one of the authors of the "We who were with him" texts refers to this part of the founder's *Testament* to reaffirm that Francis honored educated men.¹⁰⁷

An example of the manner in which advocates of simplicity castigated lay friars who sought learning can be found in the *Legend of the Three Companions*, where the authors

ferentissime ac devotissime praedicaret, hoc scilicet verbum: 'Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum.'" Lawrence, *The Friars*, 122.

¹⁰⁶ *Testamentum*, 309–10. "Et omnes theologos et qui ministrant sanctissima verba divina, debemus honorare et venerari, sicut qui ministrant nobis spiritum et vitam." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4

¹⁰⁷ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 306–7. "Non ut contempneret et despiceret sanctam scientiam; ymo eos qui erant sapientes in religione, et omnes sapientes nimio venerabatur affectu, quem admodum ipse testatur in testamento suo dicens: 'Omnes theologos et qui ministrant verba divina, debemus honorare et venerari tanquam qui ministrant nobis spiritum et vitam.'" Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 367–8; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 52–3.

denounce those friars who entered the order after 1216, when the Friar Minor rapidly began to acquire many new members.¹⁰⁸ In this story, the authors write that the founder's first followers treated books as common property without taking anything for personal use,¹⁰⁹ or, rather, that they embodied simplicity by treating this world and the things in it in a transitory manner by avoiding having *dominium* over worldly things. Indeed, this depiction can be seen throughout the *Legend of the Three Companions* as its authors furnish a consistent portrayal of Francis and his companions as living in simplicity and preaching the ideal.¹¹⁰

Additionally, the narrative suggests that the newer members are more focused on this world than they are on the world to come by wanting to have personal *dominium* over books.

Although the text does not explicitly state that the novices' desire for personal *dominium* was for the sake of learning, this purpose is implicit in that it is the only reason for a non-clerical

¹⁰⁸ Landini, *Clericalization*, 34; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 369; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 65.

¹⁰⁹ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 122–3. “Nihil insuper sibi proprium vendicabant, sed libris et aliis collatis eisdem utebantur communiter secundum formam ab apostolis traditam et servatam. Cum autem in eis et inter eos esset vera paupertas, erant tamen liberales et largi de omnibus sibi pro Deo collatis, libenter dantes amore ipsius omnibus petentibus et maxime pauperibus eleemosynas eis datas.”

¹¹⁰ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 106, 109, 115, 123, 129, 138–9. Chapter VII: “Sic et multa alia verba simplicia in fervore spiritus loquebatur, quia idiota et simplex, electus a Deo, non in doctis humanae sapientiae verbis, sed simpliciter in omnibus se habebat.” Chapter VIII: “Omnem quoque sollicitudinem cordis novae gratiae verbis apponens qualiter illa posset opere perficere, coepit, instinctu divino, evangelicae perfectionis annunciator exsistere poenitentiamque simpliciter in publicum praedicare” . . . “Quam ad orationem ingressi, quia simplices erant et nesciebant invenire verbum evangelii de renuntiatione saeculi, Dominum rogabant devote ut in prima libri apertione voluntatem suam eis ostendere dignaretur.” Chapter IX: “Quando autem eleemosynas per civitatem petebant vix aliquis dabat eis, sed improperebant illis dicentes quod res suas dimiserant ut comederent alienas, et ideo maximam penuriam sustinebant.” Chapter X: “[Sanctus Franciscus dicit,] ‘Nolite timere quia pusili et insipientes videmini, sed secure annuntiate simpliciter poenitentiam, confidentes in Domino qui vicit mundum quod spiritu suo loquitur per vos et in vobis ad exhortandum omnes ut convertantur ad ipsum et eius mandata observent.’” Chapter XI: “In paupertate plurimum laetabantur quia non concupiscebant divitias, sed omnia transitoria spernebant quae possunt a mundi huius amatoribus concupisci.” Chapter XIII: “Mirabantur sermonum eius virtutem ac veritatem quam non homo docuerat etiam litterati et docti plurimique, ipsum videre et audire velut hominem alterius saeculi festinabant.” Chapter XVI: “Licet autem beatus Franciscus se excusaret de hoc dicens se esse simplicem et idiotam, oportuit tamen ipsum ire cum illo ad curiam. Cumque beatus Franciscus se coram domino papa et cardinalibus.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49.

friar to have personal *dominium* of a book.¹¹¹ In this way, the text cloaks the tensions caused by clericalization as consisting of the need for illiterate friars to remain steadfast to the concept of simplicity and not to become educated.

The authors of the “We who were with him” texts echo the *Legend of the Three Companions*’ denunciation but bluntly assert that Francis wanted to curb access to books by limiting their use solely to those friars who needed to use psalters and breviaries for their functions as priests. To this end, several chapters share stories of clerical friars attempting to retain *dominium* over books of great value or over a large quantity of books. In these stories, Francis responds to such requests by saying that such inclinations go against their vows to live in poverty and humility and they should avoid any perception of owning things.¹¹² Other chapters recount how a lay friar asks Francis for permission to have *dominium* over a psalter, even though he has already acquired Vicar Peter of Catania’s consent. Francis refuses, saying that the desire for a psalter is the first step on a sliding slope to owning other things and that those people who renounce knowledge, instead of striving toward it, are most blessed.¹¹³

When the same friar asks again several months later, Francis reiterates the need for friars to

¹¹¹ Landini, *Clericalization*, 51–2.

¹¹² *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 296–8, 302–4. “Dixit ad eum beatus Franciscus: ‘Dico tibi, frater, quod hec fuit et est prima et ultima mea intentio et voluntas, si fratres michi credidissent, quod nullus frater deberet h[a]bere nisi vestimentum, sicut regula nostra nobis concedit, cum cingulo et femoralibus’” and “Hoc autem dixit quia volebat eos habere de conscientia sua, maxime quia cum reprehensione tot libros [habebat] cum sciret beatum Franciscum ita stricte intelligere capitulum paupertatis.” Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 369–70; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 201–8.

¹¹³ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 314. “Et dixit ad eum beatus Franciscus: ‘Postquam habueris psalterium, concupisces et voles habere breviarium; postquam habueris breviarium, sedebis in cathedra, tamquam magnus prelatus dicens fratri tuo: A[p]porta michi breviarium.’ Et sic dicens cum magno fervore spiritus tulit cum manu de cinere et posuit super caput ducendo [manum per caput in circuitu tamquam qui lavat caput, sic dicens], sibi ipsi: ‘Ego breviarium! ego breviarium!’” Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 4; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 32; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 100, 252; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 122–3.

renounce all property beyond a tunic, cord, and trousers,¹¹⁴ as indicated in the *Rule*.¹¹⁵

It is possible that the contention by advocates of simplicity regarding education and books was prefigured by the manner in which the more generous wording in the *Rule of 1221* as to whom could have *dominium* over books changed to a more restrictive working in the *Rule of 1223*. Although Landini writes that the *Rule of 1223* treats lay and clerical friars equally, this is not accurate.¹¹⁶ For example, the earlier *Rule* permits clerical members to have *dominium* over whatever books they need in order to carry out their duties, and it allows lay friars who can read to have *dominium* over a psalter.¹¹⁷ However, the *Rule of 1223* says nothing about lay friars having *dominium* over books, as it only states that clerical friars are permitted to have *dominium* over breviaries.¹¹⁸ As we can see, the *Rule of 1221* privileges all literate friars for their ability and desire to study, regardless of their lay or clerical status,

¹¹⁴ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 316. “Et pervenientibus ad locum ubi dixerat illi verbum illud, beatus Franciscus inclinavit se coram fratre et stans genuflexo dixit: ‘Mea culpa, frater, mea culpa, quoniam quicumque vult esse frater minor, non debet habere nisi tunicas sicut regula sibi concedit et cordam et femoralia et, qui necessitate manifesta coguntur vel infirmitate, calciamenta.’” Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 4; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 32; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 100, 252; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 122–3.

¹¹⁵ *Regula bullata*, 228–9. “Postea concedant eis pannos probationis, videlicet duas tunicas sine caputio et cingulum et braccas et caparonem usque ad cingulum, nisi eisdem ministris aliud secundum Deum aliquando videatur” . . . “Et illi qui iam promiserunt obedientiam habeant unam tunicam cum caputio et aliam sine caputio qui voluerint habere. Et qui necessitate coguntur possint portare calciamenta. Et fratres omnes vestimentis vilibus induantur et possint ea repeciare de saccis et aliis peciis cum benedictione Dei. Quos moneo et exhortor, ne despiciant neque iudicent homines, quos vident mollibus vestimentis et coloratis indutos, uti cibis et potibus delicatis, sed magis unusquisque iudicet et despiciat semetipsum.” Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 4; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 32; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 100, 252; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 122–3.

¹¹⁶ Landini, *Clericalization*, 44–5; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 47–50.

¹¹⁷ *Regula non bullata*, 246–7. “Propter hoc omnes fratres sive clerici sive laici faciant divinum officium, laudes et orationes, secundum quod debent facere. Clerici faciant officium et dicant pro vivis et pro mortuis secundum consuetudinem clericorum. Et pro defectu et negligentia fratrum dicant omni die *Miserere mei Deus* cum *Pater noster*; et pro fratribus defunctis dicant *De profundis* cum *Pater noster*. Et libros tantum necessarios ad implendum eorum officium possint habere. Et laicis etiam scientibus legere psalterium liceat eis habere illud. Aliis vero nescientibus litteras librum habere non liceat.” Roest, *Franciscan, Learning, Preaching, and Mission*, 13–14; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 34–7.

¹¹⁸ *Regula bullata*, 229; Roest, *Franciscan, Learning, Preaching, and Mission*, 13–14; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 37–44.

while the *Rule of 1223* creates a division between lay and clerical friars. This difference in wording between the two *Rules* seems to provide advocates of simplicity with a rationale for their argument.

According to advocates of simplicity, the inherent danger in becoming educated was that a friar risked being tempted by the sin of pride. Writing not long after Bonaventure's *Epistle*, Thomas of Eccleston provides a story about how one friar's education leads him to the sin of pride, and this narrative serves as a warning that friars risk becoming filled with arrogance as a result of learning. In this story in *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England*, Henry of Lombardy studies at night and is later elevated to the position of Vicar of the Province of England, but he eventually apostatizes from the order. His apostasy results from his inability to cope with the good fortune and honor that he has received, suggesting that he has become filled with pride. The link between study and Henry's fortune and honors might seem tenuous, since his recognition could have come from the positions that he held in the order; however, Thomas directly connects Henry's study with his improved situation,¹¹⁹ thereby indicating that the former condition directly leads to the latter and, therefore, to his apostasy. As a result, we can see that Thomas does not use the dangers of *dominium* to indicate how learning could lead a lay friar to sin. Instead, he provides an example of a friar who fails to retain his humility, and this failure leads him to the sins of pride and apostasy. In a sense, though, Thomas' example seems to reflect those concerns that Francis expresses in the *Rule* and in his letter to Anthony, while John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three*

¹¹⁹ Eccleston, 10. "Dominus Johannes Travers primo recepit fratres apud Cornhulle et locavit eis domum; et factus est gardianus laicus quidam Lombardus, Henricus nomine, qui tunc primo de nocte didicit literas in ecclesia sancti Petri de Cornhulle, et postea factus est vicarius Anglice, dum frater Agnellus proficisceretur ad capitulum generale. In vicaria tamen habuit socium fratrem Ricardum de Ingewrd: ad ultimum tamen tantam felicitatem non ferens, sed effeminatus potius honoribus et a se ipso alienatus, ab ordine miserabiliter apostatavit." Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49.

Companions, and the authors of the “We who were with him” texts focus on *dominium* of books.

Interestingly, Gregory IX and Bonaventure—both of whom were proponents of education—felt the need to address the argument presented by the advocates of simplicity. For example, Gregory weighs in on the issue of *dominium* of property with his bull *Quo elongati* (1230). When the friars could not resolve questions that they had about how to interpret certain matters in the *Rule of 1223*, they asked the pope to clarify these issues for them.¹²⁰ Although the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* and the “We who were with him” texts indicate that Francis and his first followers treated books as common property,¹²¹ Gregory responds that the friars should not have moveable property either individually or in common. Instead, they are permitted to have use (“usum”) of equipment and books at their ministers’ discretion.¹²² To further underscore the friars’ lack of *dominium*, he adds that only the order’s Cardinal Protector has the authority to sell, exchange, or alienate moveable goods outside the order or to authorize the ministers to undertake such

¹²⁰ Gregory IX, “Quo elongati (1230),” in *BF*, 68. “Sane constitutis nuper in praesentia nostra Nunciis, quos vos filii Ministri misistis, qui eratis in Capitulo generali congregati, et te, fili Generalis Minister, personaliter comparente fuit nobis expositum, quod in Regula vestra quaedam dubia et obscura et quaedam intellectu difficilia continentur.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 60; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 77–8; Landini, *Clericalization*, 37, 60, 63, 78–9, 103, 111.

¹²¹ Gregory IX, “Quo elongati (1230),” in *BF*, 69. Gregory phrases the argument in this way: “[A]c sic processu temporis contaminari timeant Ordinis paupertatem, presertim cum jam dixerint aliqui proprietatem mobilium pertinere ad totum Ordinem in communi, nobis fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut in hoc dignaremur animarum providere periculis, et totius Ordinis puritati.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 60; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 77–8; Landini, *Clericalization*, 37, 60, 63, 78–9, 103, 111.

¹²² Gregory IX, “Quo elongati (1230),” in *BF*, 69. “Dicimus itaque, quod nec in communi, nec in speciali debeant proprietatem habere; sed utensilium, ac librorum, et eorum mobilium, quae licet habere, eorum usum habeant: et Fratres secundum quod Generalis Minister, vel Provinciales dixerint, iis utantur, salvo Locorum, et Domorum dominio illis, ad quos noscitur pertinere.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 60; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 77–8; Landini, *Clericalization*, 37, 60, 63, 78–9, 103, 111.

transactions.¹²³ However, considering that the *Legend of the Three Companions* and the “We who were with him” texts were composed after 1240, Gregory’s judgment on the issue appears to have had little effect on the arguments presented by advocates of simplicity.

Twenty-five years later, Bonaventure responded to the advocates of simplicity by writing that the friars should have access to books. He addresses their argument in his *Epistle on Three Questions* (1254–55), a brief commentary on the *Rule of 1223* that he wrote before becoming general minister. In this text, the Parisian master writes that the *Rule* gives the friars the right and the duty to preach. However, in order to preach the Word of God and to avoid imparting fables to the laity, the friars need to read books so as to learn Scripture properly.¹²⁴ In this way, Bonaventure echoes the benefits of learning advanced by Jacques and Thomas as well as the permission to use books proposed by Gregory.

Having addressed the arguments furnished by advocates of simplicity and by proponents of education regarding study and the *dominium* of books, it is helpful to revisit the order’s legislation that prohibits lay friars from learning within this context. As noted above, the *Pre-Narbonne Constitutions*¹²⁵ and the *Constitutions of Narbonne*¹²⁶ barred lay friars from

¹²³ Gregory IX, “Quo elongati (1230),” in *BF*, 69. “Nec vendi debent mobilia vel extra Ordinem commutari, aut alienari quoquo modo, nisi Ecclesiae Romanae Cardinalis, qui fuerit Ordinis Gubernator, Generali, vel Provincialibus Ministris auctoritatem super hoc praebuerit, vel assensum.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 60; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 77; Landini, *Clericalization*, 37, 60, 63, 78–9, 103, 111.

¹²⁴ Bonaventure, “Epistola de tribus quaestione,” 332–3. “De libris autem et utensilibus quid sentiam, audi. Clamat Regula expresse imponens Fratribus auctoritatem et officium praedicandi, quod non credo in aliqua Regula alia reperiri. Si igitur praedicare non debent fabulas, sed verba divina; et haec scire non possunt, nisi legant; nec legere, nisi habeant scripta: planissimum est, quod de perfectione Regulae est libros habere sicut et praedicare. Et sicut non obstat Ordinis paupertati habere Missalia ad cantandas Missas et Breviaria ad Horas dicendas; sic nec obstat libris habere et Biblias ad verba divina praedicanda. Licet igitur Fratribus libros habere.” Monti, “Franciscan Higher Education,” 66–7; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 145–6.

¹²⁵ *Vestigia*, 92. Article 107: “Prohibemus ut de cetero fratres, qui nesciunt legere psalterium, litteras non addiscant, nec alii eos doceant.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 82; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 19, 45–6, 48–9, 52–3.

¹²⁶ *Narbonne*, 71. Rubric VI, article 11: “Prohibemus, ut de cetero fratres qui nesciunt legere psalterium, litteras non addiscant, nec alii eos doceant.”

studying and educated friars from teaching them. To reiterate, considering that the hierarchy and proponents of education communicated a desire for illiterate and semiliterate friars to study, even if these friars only learn to recite biblical passages, it is unlikely that the order's hierarchy wanted to create a division between illiterate and literate friars. However, with advocates of simplicity intimating that illiterate or semiliterate friars should remain in the state of being relatively unlettered—and therefore continue to live within this depiction of the ideal—the order's legislation satisfies an internal pressure regarding restricting education. Indeed, it seems probable that the order enacted this legislation because it fulfilled Gregory IX's call for the order to improve the quality of its novices, because more clerical novices wanted to enter the order than lay ones, and because it placated advocates of simplicity who desired to create and to reinforce a form of identity for themselves within the Friars Minor that would distinguish them from the clerical friars. Moreover, since the clerical friars were more likely to be given positions of authority within the Friars Minor,¹²⁷ this enforced illiteracy increasingly prevented lay friars from participating in the order's hierarchy.

Even though Jordan responds to these issues, he approaches the controversy over clericalization and simplicity in the Friars Minor in his own way by placing it within the context of the mission in Germany and his interactions with Nicholas the Humble. With this narrative, Jordan's tale rebukes those who embrace simplicity while simultaneously attempting to strike a balance between advocates of simplicity and proponents of education. However, instead of simplicity and education, Jordan talks about the tensions in terms of simplicity and serving in positions of authority within the order's hierarchy. Although education and serving in positions of authority are different elements of clericalization, their

¹²⁷ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 49–53.

relationships with simplicity seem to run parallel to each other. For example, if a friar were distracted by the things of this world, whether by having *dominium* of books or by taking a position of authority, he risked his soul's salvation with temporal acquisitions or with political power and its corrupting influences. Additionally, the friar risked the sin of pride, since he might experience self-importance from the acquisition of either knowledge or of a position of authority.¹²⁸

Nicholas' story comprises two of the longer chapters in the *Chronica*, and Jordan uses the first to introduce Nicholas and his scorn for authority. As the custodian of Thuringia in 1225, Jordan has established the order in various cities in the region and needs someone with organizational skills to help him manage the growing number of novices. Knowing this, provincial minister Albert of Pisa (d. 1240) sends Nicholas to help Jordan, since he believes that Nicholas can perform the task.¹²⁹ The two men meet between Gotha and Eisenach, where a fellow friar, knowing Nicholas' penchant for simplicity, presents Jordan as their "king and master."¹³⁰ To this introduction, Nicholas says that he acknowledges Jordan as his lord and is ready to serve him. One gets the sense that Nicholas is mocking the description of his superior because, when he is told that Jordan is their custodian, he apologizes for his error

¹²⁸ Eccleston, 10. "Dominus Johannes Travers primo recepit fratres apud Cornhulle et locavit eis domum; et factus est gardianus laicus quidam Lombardus, Henricus nomine, qui tunc primo de nocte didicit literas in ecclesia sancti Petri de Cornhulle, et postea factus est vicarius Angliae, dum frater Agnellus proficisceretur ad capitulum generale. In vicaria tamen habuit socium fratrem Ricardum de Ingewrd: ad ultimum tamen tantam felicitatem non ferens, sed effeminatus potius honoribus et a se ipso alienatus, ab ordine miserabiliter apostatavit." Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49.

¹²⁹ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Eodem anno [1225] missus est a fratre Alberto de Pisa ministro Theutonie fratri Jordano tunc custodi Thuringie in consolacionem et subsidium frater Nicolaus de Reno sacerdos et iuris peritus, qui dictus est Nicolaus humilis. Que virtus in eo specialiter emicuit." Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 190; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

¹³⁰ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Cui cum frater Jordanus inter Gotham et Isenacum occurreret, reverenter et fraterne se in osculo salutaverunt et sic consederunt. Frater vero Nicolaus homo humilis et simplicitatis columbine cum sederet reverenter in silencio coram fratre Jordano, frater Petrus de Isenaco, fratris Nicolai socius, homo hilaris et iocundus, sciens fratris Nicolai humilitatem, dixit ei: 'Frater Nicolae, non agnoscis regem et dominum nostrum?'"

and bows deeply to Jordan. Even though he has apologized, he remains on his knees while proffering his letters of obedience to Jordan.¹³¹ Nicholas' disdain for authority becomes more apparent when Jordan appoints Nicholas to be the guardian of Erfurt, and he responds by wondering what offense he has given God to deserve such a punishment.¹³²

With his tale about Nicholas the Humble, Jordan indicates that simplicity was not limited to illiterate or semiliterate lay friars; educated friars could also embrace a life of simplicity. In fact, the Franciscan ideal of poverty was attractive to many scholars who chose Franciscan mendicancy.¹³³ For instance, in the story, Jordan relates that Nicholas is a priest and a lawyer¹³⁴ and that he adopted a life of humility and simplicity.¹³⁵ For his part, Felder asserts that Jordan is so impressed by Nicholas' education and obedience that he is reluctant to give orders to this friar.¹³⁶ However, Jordan himself states that he disapproves of Nicholas' behavior and finds his degree of humility so bothersome that he avoids the friar for six weeks.¹³⁷

While this episode sets the tone for interactions with Nicholas, Jordan employs Nicholas'

¹³¹ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Et ille coniunctis manibus humiliter respondit: 'Libenter cognosco et servio domino meo.' Et frater Petrus adiecit: 'Ipse enim est custos noster.' Quo audito surrexit et culpam suam dixit cum longa venia, quod tam irreverenter ipsum recepisset. Et surgens cum omni humilitate flexis genibus fratri Jordano litteras sue obediencie presentavit."

¹³² Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Et post tres ebdomadas frater Jordanus misit ei litteras, ut ibidem esset guardianus. Quas reverenter suscipiens ait: 'Et quid mihi fecit pater noster?'"

¹³³ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 128.

¹³⁴ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Eodem anno [1225] missus est a fratre Alberto de Pisa ministro Theutonie fratri Jordano tunc custodi Thuringie in consolacionem et subsidium frater Nicolaus de Reno sacerdos et iuris peritus, qui dictus est Nicolaus humilis."

¹³⁵ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Frater vero Nicolaus homo humilis et simplicitatis columbine cum sederet reverenter in silencio coram fratre Jordano, frater Petrus de Isenaco, fratris Nicolai socius, homo hilaris et iocundus, sciens fratris Nicolai humilitatem."

¹³⁶ Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis of Assisi*, 190.

¹³⁷ Jordan, 52. Chapter 47: "Frater vero Jordanus de humilitate fratris Nicolai ita confusus erat, ut ipsum ferre vix posset et infra sex ebdomadas venire Erfordiam non auderet."

promotion to the hierarchy to provide a more penetrating rebuke of advocates of simplicity as well as an appreciation for the ideal when it was combined with a position of authority.

When the custodianship for the province of Saxony comes open, Albert perceives that Nicholas is well suited for the position, and the provincial minister decides to promote the humble man to the post; however, Nicholas' disdain for serving in positions of authority is sufficiently well known that Albert knows that he will have difficulty in convincing the man to move up in the hierarchy.¹³⁸ Instead of sending letters of obedience, Albert goes to deliver his decision in person, and he takes Jordan with him for assistance.¹³⁹ As expected, Nicholas objects to the provincial minister's judgment and protests that, since he cannot count or do accounting, he does not have the skills required for being a lord or a prelate.¹⁴⁰ For his part, Albert ignores the skills and focuses on the manner in which Nicholas compares the position of "custodian" with the positions of "lord" and "prelate." In so doing, he demands that Nicholas explain how the friars who hold positions of authority in the order can be compared to nobility.¹⁴¹ To accentuate his point, Albert describes these roles as "burdens and liabilities,"¹⁴² thereby strongly conveying the notion that a friar needs humility in order to

¹³⁸ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "De eius morte fratres Saxonie non modicum turbati sunt, fratri Alberto de Pisa, ministro Theutonie rogato, ut ipsis de custode dignaretur misericorditer providere. Minister autem, cum proponeret eis fratrem Nicolaum, guardianum erfordensem, mittere pro custode, sciens eius humilitatem, litteras ei mittere non presumpsit, timens, quod officium ex humilitate non reciperet, sed potius ad ipsum recurreret." Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 185–6.

¹³⁹ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "Et ideo decrevit ad ipsum personaliter accedere, si forte ex familiari allocutione ad recipiendum officium eius posset animum inclinare. Minister vero Erfordiam veniens, vocato ad hoc fratre Jordano, cepit loqui cum fratre Nicolao de officio custodie Saxonie recipiendo."

¹⁴⁰ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "Ipse vero humiliter se excusavit, et se modis omnibus insufficientem affirmante, utpote qui etiam nec numerare nec computare sciret nec dominus esse aut prelatus."

¹⁴¹ Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "Minister ipsum cepit in verbo et animo quasi indignanti dixit ei: 'Nescis ergo dominus esse dominus? Numquid ergo domini sumus, qui officia ordinis tenemus?'"

¹⁴² Jordan, 53. Chapter 49: "'Dic, ergo, frater, cito culpam tuam, quod officia ordinis, que magis onera et servitutes dici possunt, dominia et prelationes reputasti.'" Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 239–40.

undertake such an office. Indeed, he suggests that such positions endanger the friar's soul. Nicholas admits his error on bended knee, and Albert imposes the office of custodian for Saxony on him as a form of penance for his sin of pride.¹⁴³

Jordan emphasizes, though, that Nicholas does not abandon his humble demeanor, but instead acts so modestly in the role of custodian that he performs penances alongside those friars on whom he imposes such punishments.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, Nicholas is so much of an advocate of obedience, in word and deed, that the friars in his custody are loath to disobey.¹⁴⁵ In this way, Jordan shows that Nicholas is better able to discipline the friars in his care because of his adherence to humility than other guardians can through instruction and rebuke.

Jordan also gives his readers a fuller idea of his conception of obedience through his use of Scripture in the *Chronica*. In fact, Jordan only cites Scripture eight times in his work, but he employs the first two of those instances in the Prologue so as to explain why he submitted to his confreres' demands to compose the *Chronica* despite his unwillingness to perform this task.¹⁴⁶ Although he tries to desist from undertaking the task, pleading old age and infirmity, he finally agrees to their demands. However, Jordan does not rely on the *Rule of 1223's*

¹⁴³ Jordan, 53–4. Chapter 49: “Cui humiliter dicenti culpam Minister custodiam Saxonie ei in penitenciam dedit, et ipse, sicut semper consuevit, flexis genibus humiliter obedivit.”

¹⁴⁴ Jordan, 54. Chapter 49: “Super cuius obediencia fratres admodum gavisi, in ecclesia sancti spiritus, apud quam tunc manebant, fratres solemnizaverunt, fratre Nicolao missam ferialiter et mente lugubri decantante. Factus ergo custos Saxonie tertius, humilitatem, quam tenere cepit, in officio constitutus non deseruit, sed ad scutellas et ad pedes fratrum lavandos humillimus semper et primus fuit. Et si fratri pro culpa sua super terram sedere aut disciplinam imponebat, eandem penitenciam cum ipso humillimus exsolvebat.”

¹⁴⁵ Jordan, 54. Chapter 49: “Et licet humilitatem et obedienciam ipsemet in omnibus servaverit, adeo tamen vindex et ultor pertinacis inobediencie fuit, ut fratrem pertinaciter inobedientem etiam cum penitencia difficulter ad graciā reciperet, tantum malum reputans fratris inobedienciam et tantum bonum obedienciam, ut et facto et exemplo ostenderet fratres debere in omnibus simpliciter obedire.”

¹⁴⁶ Jordan, 39–40. Appropriately, his third use of Scripture was to contend that Francis employed Psalm 143:1 (“Blessed be the Lord my God, who teaches my hands to fight”) as the theme of his sermon at the 1221 General Chapter at Assisi, considering that the founder used the event to send a new mission to Germany. Chapter 16: “In hoc capitulo beatus Franciscus assumpto themate *Benedictus dominus deus meus, qui docet manus meas ad prelium* fratribus predicavit et docens virtutes et monens ad pacienciam et ad exempla mundo demonstranda.”

dictates regarding obedience to explain why he complies. Instead, he turns to the authority of Scripture to furnish his reasoning. For example, he interprets 1 Samuel 15:23 as meaning that the act of rebellion or the refusal to obey would be a sin similar to deception or idolatry.¹⁴⁷ In other words, disobeying the orders of superiors is similar to the sin of worshiping other gods or false idols, since the individual has placed him- or herself and his or her pride above God's desires. In a similar vein, Jordan indicates that 1 Corinthians 1:26–28 means that God shames people so that they do not sin from pride when they come before Him.¹⁴⁸ Although this passage does not refer to obedience directly, it does indicate the idea that an individual's submission to another person puts him or her in the proper frame of humility, since he or she has put someone else's desires ahead of his or her own. In this way, Jordan indicates that obedience to another person's commands places oneself not only in submission to their will but also to God's. It seems that for Jordan, such submission is the most important expression of one's humility.

In this narrative, Jordan ignores the appeals to eloquence and knowledge of Scripture that Jacques de Vitry, Thomas of Celano, and Bonaventure emphasize, and he challenges advocates of simplicity directly in terms of humility, one of the core characteristics of simplicity. Indeed, he not only accepts their assertions that service in the hierarchy, much like learning, leads friars to flirt with the sin of pride and arrogance, he suggests that friars

¹⁴⁷ Jordan, 33. The Vulgate reads: "Quoniam quasi peccatum ariolandi est, repugnare: et quasi scelus idololatriae, nolle acquiescere. Pro eo ergo quod abjecisti sermonem Domini, abjecit te Dominus ne sis rex," which can be translated as "Since rebellion is like the sin of deceiving: and like the evil of idolatry, you should not acquiesce. For this reason therefore because you have rejected the word of the Lord, the Lord rejected that you should be king."

¹⁴⁸ Jordan, 33. Prologue: "*Sed que stulta sunt mundi elegit deus, ut confundat sapientes, et infirma mundi elegit deus, ut confundat fortia, et ignobilia mundi elegit deus et contemptibilia et ea que non sunt, ut ea que sunt, destrueret, ut non gloriatur omnis caro in conspectu eius.*" The Douay-Rheims Bible translates this passage as "For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble: But the foolish things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen, that he may confound the strong. And the base things of the world, and the things that are contemptible, hath God chosen, and things that are not, that he might bring to nought things that are."

prove themselves to God by facing and overcoming these temptations. In fact, those who serve in positions of authority exhibit their love for God by shouldering the burden of struggling against sin so that they can shepherd others (whether friars or laity) in the faith and guide the order in its mission of evangelizing God's message to as many people as possible. By contrast, advocates of simplicity fail to show true devotion to God by avoiding any danger to their souls.

Moreover, Jordan contends that all Franciscans are bound together through obedience. Indeed, even though he admits that he dislikes Nicholas and his mockery of those who serve in positions of authority, he nevertheless admires the manner in which Nicholas is able to use his humility to induce the friars in his care to obey while less humble custodians who rely on the authority of their positions fail to achieve the same level of obedience as Nicholas does. Consequently, Jordan explores both positions through a more multi-layered appreciation of the conceptions of simplicity and hierarchy. Indeed, Jordan indicates that he and Nicholas share the Franciscan values of humility and obedience, even if they disagree as to how to interpret them or how to carry them out. Both are humble and obedient, even if they advocate very different interpretations of what it means to be humble.

Conclusion

Although scholars have long noted tensions caused by clericalization, placing Jordan's *Chronica* within the context of the Italian texts suggests that the friction between the friars was not so much the introduction of novice clerical friars or tensions between illiterate and literate friars as it was a debate over whether or not lay friars already in the order could or should study. Indeed, texts from the early to mid thirteenth century indicate that educated

clerical friars encouraged their uneducated lay counterparts to study so as to join them, and the clerics seem to have had difficulty comprehending why some lay friars refused to do so. After all, those friars who formally studied theology increased their knowledge of Christian doctrine and improved their ability to attract converts. By contrast, lay friars who embraced simplicity failed to comprehend why any of their colleagues would betray the humble way of life so as to join the clerics. Indeed, studying involved having personal *dominium* of books and endangering the soul, because the lay friar risked the slippery slope of wanting to possess things. Moreover, once one became habituated to possessing books, one risked attachment to temporal things and to the world. Within this context, Jordan's *Chronica* portrays an atmosphere in the Friars Minor during the early to mid thirteenth century in which education was accepted and encouraged, even if some friars who embraced simplicity interpreted learning and serving in positions of authority as being inconsistent with the ideal of simplicity.

Furthermore, the *Chronica* suggests that some of these arguments advanced by both groups were rather artificial in the manner in which they were articulated. For example, Jordan indicates that even friars with high levels of learning, such as Nicholas the Humble, could and did adopt the Franciscan ideal of simplicity and display great zeal for it. In other words, this was not a case of illiterate versus literate friars but between friars who imitated Francis' adherence to poverty and humility against friars who embraced the founder's veneration of educated clerics and his passion for public preaching. Additionally, even though Jordan intimates that he felt uncomfortable because of Nicholas' level of enthusiasm for simplicity, he nonetheless concedes that the manner in which Nicholas carried out the ideal of simplicity made the friar a very effective guardian. Indeed, despite the tensions that

existed between advocates of simplicity and proponents of education, the *Chronica* indicates that these friars could work together as long as they agreed on the principle of obedience. With his portrayal of relations between champions of these two opposing interpretations of Francis' ideal, Jordan suggests that each side could learn something from the other about what it meant to be a Franciscan.

CHAPTER 7: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH MISSION

As noted above, Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 are connected through the intertwined themes of clericalization and education. While the last chapter explored the manner in which these themes interacted with Franciscan simplicity, Chapter 7 will examine the manner in which educated friars helped the Friars Minor to expand more rapidly into and through non-Italian regions. Since the Italian *legenda* only deal with mission in a cursory manner, this chapter will concentrate much more on Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* and on Jordan's *Chronica*. In this way, the question of the education of the friars becomes an optimal route into an understanding of Jordan's text. Because these two authors observed the manner in which the Friars Minor extended the order's presence throughout England and Germany, they are more revealing regarding the relationship between education and the process of expansion within these regions.¹

In the *Chronica*, Jordan presents educated clerics undertaking mission to new lands, whether the comparatively ineffectual missions in 1219 or the more successful 1221 mission. These themes of mission (see Chapter 3) and education (Chapter 6) run through Jordan's *Chronica*. Indeed, Jordan's text and Thomas of Eccleston's *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* are the only early to mid thirteenth-century texts that explore the intersection of these three concepts to any sustained degree. It is useful, then, to consider the juncture of mission and education more thoroughly.

¹ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 21–2, 27–8, 85.

Modern scholarship has largely focused on the benefits of education in terms of the order as a whole. For instance, Augustine Thompson notes that clerical friars needed to monitor those lay friars who preached, since their sermons were occasionally suggestive of heterodoxy or scandal.² John B. Freed argues that the Dominicans were chosen over the Franciscans to act as inquisitors and public preachers against heresy or for crusades during the 1220s and 1230s, because the Friars Preacher were stringent about admitting only learned clerics as novices. With the clericalization of the Friars Minor in the 1240s, the Franciscans were called upon to perform these functions more frequently.³ Likewise, while Bert Roest explores Franciscan education, he is more concerned with a systemic analysis of the order as a whole rather than with its parts.⁴

Jordan's *Chronica* enables a more sustained investigation of education within Franciscan mission. Additionally, since the events that led to the composition of the *Chronica* indicate that Jordan's stories resonated among friars active in the Franciscan hierarchy in Germany, this exploration can help us to understand the manner in which Jordan and the friars at Halberstadt in 1262 perceived themselves as members of their order. As a result, it is helpful to ask how the role of mission played into these debates by inquiring whether or not friars in non-Italian regions also emphasized the issue of simplicity or accentuated other aspects of their vocation. It is helpful, then, to consider whether Thomas and Jordan discuss clerical and lay friars on an equal basis, whether the order's endeavors to expand the order outside of Italy affected the manner in which these provincial authors thought about the relationship

² Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 103.

³ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 128.

⁴ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, vii–x.

between clerical education and Franciscan mission, and whether the Franciscans' drive to expand influenced their attitudes regarding clericalization.

Provincial Emphasis on Clericalization and Education

Jordan does not explicitly state that clericalization helped the Friars Minor expand more quickly into new regions; instead, he demonstrates how a scarcity of Franciscan clerics during the first few years of the mission to Germany hindered the order's ability to establish convents in new cities.⁵ Although Thomas and Jordan touch on the Franciscan order's clericalization in their works, they do so discreetly. Indeed, they both indicate the importance of education to mission by emphasizing the role of learned men in positions of authority as well as by specifying the manner in which education enabled the friars to more effectively evangelize new regions. Thus the questions that we will ask in order to investigate the relationships between clericalization, education, and mission include how provincial authors discuss the importance of clericalization and education and what differences existed between how lay friars and clerical friars benefitted or inhibited the order's expansion.

When they discuss the relationship between clericalization and mission, most scholars explore the impact of educated friars on missions. In this context, Charles Lawrence asserts that any mission to the towns needed to include educated preachers, since townspeople tended to be more sophisticated and critical.⁶ The implication is that lay preachers were largely ineffective when speaking to an audience that was more knowledgeable about doctrine. Furthermore, anyone who converted after hearing a sermon needed to be shrived in

⁵ Jordan, 47. Chapters 28, 30.

⁶ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 47–8.

order to fulfill the next step in the pastoral process.⁷ For her part, Neslihan Şenocak writes that educated friars were at first desired in the order for their ability to hear confessions. It was only later that their abilities to preach and to work as inquisitors were appreciated.⁸

To begin, though, it is useful to consider the manner in which the Franciscan writers in the provinces characterized clericalization and education in the order outside of Italy. As discussed in Chapter 6, Thomas of Eccleston warned his readers in *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* about how becoming more learned could lead an individual to arrogance and apostasy. In her exploration of the evolution of the Franciscan concept of poverty in the thirteenth century, Şenocak mentions Thomas' appreciation for learning in the English province; however, she demonstrates that the educated people within Thomas' text admire those who embraced the ideal of poverty.⁹ It is important to note, though, that Thomas nonetheless advocates study and exhibits pride in the English Franciscan order's role in educating friars. Indeed, he begins his text by describing the first nine Friars Minor to enter England in 1224, but he furnishes much more information about the more learned clerical friars (Agnellus of Pisa,¹⁰ Richard of Ingworth,¹¹ Richard of Devon,¹² and William of

⁷ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 48.

⁸ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 145–50.

⁹ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 88–91, 170.

¹⁰ Eccleston, 3–4. “Clerici fuerunt isti: primus frater Agnellus Pisanus, ordine diaconus, aetate circiter trecenarius, qui a beato Francisco in proximo capitulo generali destinatus erat provincialis minister in Angliam; fuerat siquidem custos Parisiensis, et ita prudenter se gesserat, ut tam fratribus quam saecularibus famosae sanctitatis merito plurimum complaceret.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 51–2; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹¹ Eccleston, 4. “Secundus erat frater Ricardus de Ingewurde, natione Anglicus, sacerdos et praedicator et aetate provecior, qui primus extitit qui citra montes populo praedicavit in ordine; et processu temporis, sub bonae memoriae fratre Johanne Parent, missus est minister provincialis in Hiberniam; fuerat enim vicarius fratris Agnelli in Anglia, dum ipse ad capitulum generale proficisceretur, in quo facta est translatio reliquiarum sancti Francisci, et eximiae sanctitatis praeclara exempla praeberat. Completo itaque fidei et Deo accepto ministerio, absolutus in capitulo generali a bonae memoriae fratre Alberto, ab omni fratrum officio, zelo fidei succensus, profectus est in Syriam et ibidem felici fine quievit.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

Ashby)¹³ than he does concerning the less educated lay members (Henry of Treviso,¹⁴ Lawrence of Beauvais,¹⁵ William of Florence,¹⁶ James,¹⁷ and Melioratus).¹⁸ These differing levels of information between the educated clerical members and the uneducated lay friars indicate that he believed that the former group played a more important part in the mission to establish the Friars Minor in England than did the latter one.

Admittedly, Thomas reveals little information about himself and nothing about his motivations for writing his text or why he includes this information about the first mission to England. He divides his text into chapters on the zeal and dispersion of the friars, the

¹² Eccleston, 4. “Tertius erat frater Ricardus Devoniensis, natione similiter Anglicus, ordine acolitus, aetate iuvenis, qui longanimitatis et obedientiae plura nobis exempla reliquit. Nam post diversas provincias per obedientiam peragratas, per annos xj febribus tamen quartanis frequentius fatigatus, apud locum Romehale continue morabatur.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹³ Eccleston, 4–5. “Quartus erat frater Willelmus de Esseby, cum caparone probationis adhuc novitius, natione similiter Anglicus, aetate iuvenis, et ordine. Iste in diversis officiis diutius, subministrante spiritu Jesu Christi, laudabiliter durans, humilitatis et paupertatis, caritatis et mansuetudinis, obedientiae et patientiae et omnis perfectionis nobis exempla monstravit. Cum autem quaereret ab eo frater Gregorius, minister Franciae, si vellet ire in Angliam, respondit se nescire si vellet. Et cum miraretur minister de responso, tandem dixit frater W., ideo se nescire quid vellet, quia voluntas sua non erat sua sed ministri; unde voluit quidquid ipse voluit se ipsum velle. Huic testimonium perhibuit frater W. de Notingham quod esset obedientissimus; cum enim daret ei optionem ut eligeret sibi locum ad manendum, dixit quod locus ille sibi summe placuit, quem sibi placuit ei assignare.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹⁴ Eccleston, 5. “Laici vero fuerunt hii: primus frater Henricus de Trevisie natione Lombardus, qui pro merito sanctitatis et discretionis praecipuae postea factus est gardianus Londoniae, qui etiam completo laboris sui cursu in Anglia, multiplicato iam fratrum numero, in patriam suam rediit.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹⁵ Eccleston, 5–6. “Secundus erat frater Laurentius, de Belvaco oriundus, qui laboravit in principio in opere mechanico, secundum decretum regulae, et post ad beatum Franciscum regressus, ipsum videre frequenter et eius colloquiis consolari meruit; tunicam denique suam sibi pater sanctus liberalissime contulit benedictioneque dulcissima laetificatum in Angliam remisit. Qui post multos labores per merita patris eiusdem, ut aestimo, ad portum quietis Londoniam applicuit, ubi nunc desperabili langore detentus, finem tam diutinae fatigationis expectat.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹⁶ Eccleston, 6. “Tertius fuit frater Willelmus de Florentia, qui post receptionem fratrum cito in Franciam rediit.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹⁷ Eccleston, 6. “Quartus fuit frater Melioratus.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

¹⁸ Eccleston, 6. “Quintus fuit frater Jacobus ultramontanus in caparone probationis adhuc novitius.” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 45–6; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123.

reception of novices, their acquisition of places, the promotion of preachers and lectors, the appointment of confessors, the division of the order in England, and the order's hierarchy. Additionally, he mentions or briefly recounts the stories of particular notable friars in the English mission, from the first men to arrive to Haymo of Faversham. In this respect, Thomas' purpose in providing these details about Agnellus' mission seems to be to show the manner in which the mission balanced literate clerics and illiterate lay friars, all of whom adhered to the ideals of Franciscan humility. Additionally, since Thomas kept notes over the years about the order in England,¹⁹ it is likely that this relative *lacuna* in his information regarding the lay friars stems more from a partiality for the educated friars than from a problem with memory.

Although it is doubtful that Jordan ever saw Thomas' work, he similarly reports much more information about the educated clerical friars on the 1221 mission to Germany than he does concerning the uneducated lay friars. For example, we know more about the twelve clerical friars: Caesar (German, from Speyer, a student of the secular master Conrad of Speyer, an effective preacher, and a convert to the order by Elias),²⁰ John of Pian di Carpine (preacher, fluent in Latin and Italian, became minister of the provinces of Saxony and Spain, and was so corpulent that he rode a donkey),²¹ Barnabas (preacher, fluent in German and

¹⁹ Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 86–7; Hardick, 215; Andrew G. Little, ed., *Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston de adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam* (Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1909), xxi; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 206–7.

²⁰ Jordan, 36, 42. Chapter 9: “Iste Cesarius, vir theutonicus de Spirea natus et subdiaconus, magistri Conradi de Spirea predicatoris crucis et post hildensemensis episcopi in theologia discipulus fuit. Hic adhuc secularis existens magnus predicator et ewangelice perfectionis imitator fuit.” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–9; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 55–6; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26, 122, 126, 140; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²¹ Jordan, 42, 56, 61. Chapter 19: “[F]ratribus Johanne de Plano Carpinis, predatore in latino et lombardico.” Chapter 57: “Minister enim factus in Bohemiam, in Ungariam, in Poloniam, in Daciam et Norwegiam fratres misit. Domum quoque methensem recepit et ordinem in Lothoringia plantavit. Hic ordinis sui strenuus defensor fuit. Nam

Italian),²² Thomas of Celano (wrote two *legenda* and gave relics of Francis to Jordan),²³ Joseph (from Treviso),²⁴ Abraham (Hungarian),²⁵ Simon (from Tuscany, son of a countess of Colazon),²⁶ Conrad (a German cleric),²⁷ Peter (priest from Camerino),²⁸ James and Walter (priests),²⁹ Palmerius (a deacon),³⁰ and, of course, Jordan (deacon raised to the priesthood by Caesar and later became Custodian for Thuringia).³¹ Of the thirteen lay friars, we learn only that Benedict was a German from Soest and that Henry was from Swabia, but we know nothing about the other lay friars, not even their names, since Jordan says that he no longer has their names in his memory.³² In this case, the absence of the lay friars' names from

coram episcopis et principibus pro ordine suo constanter et personaliter stetit." Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–30; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26–7, 85; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²² Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Barnaba Theutonico predicatore egregio in lombardico et theutonico." Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27, 85; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 138.

²³ Jordan, 34, 42, 57. Chapter 1: "Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declarator, hic supersedemus." Chapter 19: "Thoma de Zelano qui legendam sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit." Chapter 59: "Frater vero Jordanus in Theutonium rediens venit ad fratrem Thomam de Selano; qui gavisus dedit ei de reliquiis beati Francisci." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 137.

²⁴ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Joseph de Tervisio." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²⁵ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Abraham Ungaro." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 69.

²⁶ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Simone Tusco, filio comitis de Colazon." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²⁷ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Conrado theutonico clerico." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²⁸ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Petro sacerdote de Chamerino." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

²⁹ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Jacobus et Valtero sacerdotibus." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

³⁰ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Palmero dyacono." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

³¹ Jordan, 42, 49–54. Chapter 19: "[F]ratre Jordane de Jano dyacono." Chapter 38: "Albertus de Pisa . . . misit fratrem Jordanum guardianum de Moguncia cum 7 fratribus in Thuringiam, ut domos reciperent et fratres in locis competentibus collocaret." Chapter 41: "Jordanus misit fratres laicos per Thuringiam ad explorandum statum civitatum." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27, 126; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

³² Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "[Q]uibusdam fratribus laicis, videlicet Benedicto de Solato Theutonico et Henrico Swevo et pluribus aliis quorum nomina in memoria non habeo." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44–5.

Jordan's memory suggests that he has forgotten them largely because they failed to make much of an impression on him, or at least he intended to convey that impression.

During the early thirteenth century, the portrayal of educated clerical friars who were prominent in the activities that the texts foregrounded appears to have been stronger in these English and German texts than in the Italian *legenda*. This is not to say that the provincials were more learned or more prone to pursue education than their Italian counterparts, but that those authors who emphasized the actions of educated friars in the provinces were more favorably disposed toward learning and to those with higher levels of education.

Education in the English and German Provinces

Although Thomas and Jordan highlight the presence of educated friars among the first missions to their respective territories, it is helpful to ask whether this was an anomaly or if they emphasized education within their texts in other ways. If the Friars Minor included a large number of learned clerics only on a mission's initial arrival into a region, then we might consider that the order considered that the clerics were particularly useful for the initial establishment of the friars in a new area but that they were not as useful afterward. Otherwise, if these authors highlight education and clerics in other ways in their works, then we can infer that these authors held learned clerics in esteem and valued their presence and services in general.

While some scholarship on education in the provinces exists, it tends to be limited to summaries of information found in Thomas and Jordan's texts. For instance, Şenocak says little about education in the provinces except to characterize the English provincial ministers as endeavoring to educate their friars while always needing reminders that the friars needed

to strive for humility,³³ and to indicate that the German province might have had lectors and *studia* as early as 1228.³⁴ Meanwhile Freed is more concerned with the social provenance of Franciscan novices than their learning after entering the order. Consequently, he concentrates more on their educational statuses before they joined the order. In this regard, he notes that most novices to the Friars Minor before 1240 were members of the laity, and that a small number of these men had received some form of education in their youth in order to prepare them for lives as knights, bureaucrats, or merchants.³⁵ Offering another point of view, Rosalind Brooke notes that, after the tumultuous ministership of Elias, general minister Haymo of Faversham implemented administrative reforms so as to stabilize the order's governance. One of these reforms was to restrict the novitiate to clerics.³⁶

For his part, Thomas also shows his esteem for Franciscan education by informing his readers about the many friars who taught and studied in the province of England. Although Thomas notes that he studied at Oxford,³⁷ he exhibits much more pride in England as a location of Franciscan learning by naming the Franciscan lectors who taught in English *studia* and universities.³⁸ In fact, he links the great number of educated clerics within the

³³ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 88–90.

³⁴ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 55–7.

³⁵ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 117–28.

³⁶ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 123–4.

³⁷ Eccleston, 52. “Quidam lector egregius, qui mecum studuit Oxoniae, consuevit semper in scholis, magistro legente vel disputante, intendere aliis quam lectioni, utpote compilationi originalium.” Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 60–3.

³⁸ Eccleston, 27–9, 48–61. Some of these lectors included “Hugh of Baldock, Philip of London, William of Ashby, Simon of Sandwich, Robert Grosseteste, Peter, Roger of Weseam, Thomas Wallensis, Philip of Wales, Adam of York, Vincent of Coventry, Henry, William of Leicester, Gregory of Bossells, Gilbert of Cranford, John of Westun, Adam Marsh, William of Nottingham, Ralph of Corbridge, Eustace of Normanville, Thomas of York, Richard of Cornwall, Vincent of Coventry, William of Poitiers, and Humphrey.” Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 363–4, 373–6; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 131–3; Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 39–40.

order's ranks in the English province to the many lay friars who attended theology lectures and scholastic exercises every day so that they could become preachers.³⁹ He also expresses admiration for General Minister Haymo of Faversham, who encouraged lay friars to study to become preachers.⁴⁰ As we can see, Thomas does not see any problems with friars studying, as long as they remember their humility, as noted in Chapter 6.

Unlike his English counterpart, Jordan does not dwell on schools in Germany, but he suggests their importance in the *Chronica*. For example, when he describes the manner in which the order's hierarchy added new positions within a region, Jordan notes that John Parenti, the Franciscans' first general minister, wanted to ensure that the friars in the German province had a lector. For this reason, he assigned Simon the Englishman as the order's first lector in that region.⁴¹ While brief, this notice indicates that the leadership was committed at an early period to creating schools so as to encourage the order's lay friars to become clerics.⁴²

³⁹ Eccleston, 27–9. “Licet autem fratres summae simplicitati et conscientiae puritati summo opere studerent in omnibus, in audienda tamen lege divina et scholasticis exercitiis ita fuerunt ferventes, ut scholas theologiae, quantumcumque distarent, adire quotidie nudis pedibus in frigoris asperitate et luti profunditate non pigritarentur. Unde cooperante gratia Spiritus Sancti, ad officium praedicationis infra breve tempus plures promoti sunt.”

⁴⁰ Eccleston, 27. “Promovit autem plurimum praedicantes et auctoritatis eis et famae fomenta praebuit adventus fratris Haymonis de Faversham, qui cum tribus aliis magistris apud sanctum Dionysium in die Parasceues, ordine sacerdos et famosus praedicator, intravit. Hic enim cum adhuc saecularis esset, usus est cilicio usque ad poplites et alia plurima poenitentiae excellentissima monstravit exempla.” Roest, “The Franciscan School System,” 258, 260–1, 265–6, 268–70; Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 34; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 359–61; Landini, *Clericalization*, 81–4, 97, 99, 124, 129, 135; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 91–3, 120. Brooke suggests that Haymo of Faversham asked Hugh of Digne to write his exposition of the *Rule of 1223*. The relationship between the two men is interesting since Haymo and Hugh were educated men who encourage learning, even though Hugh was a Joachite and his writings were embraced by the fourteenth-century Spirituals.

⁴¹ Jordan, 55. Chapter 19: “[F]ratre Jordane de Jano dyacono.” Chapter 54: “Eodem anno frater Johannes Parens generalis minister audiens quod Theutonia lectorem in theologia non haberet, absolvit fratrem Simonem a ministerio Theutonie et lectorem eum instituit, et fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis in ministrum Theutonie destinavit. Qui capitulo indicto provinciali in Wormacia, ibi litteras absolucionis fratris Simonis; et sue institutionis demonstravit.” Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126.

⁴² Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 17, 24–45; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 215–42.

Additionally, Jordan suggests the importance of education by including narratives in which the founder surrounded himself with learned men. While the Italian *legenda* authors highlight Francis' many illiterate and simple lay companions,⁴³ Jordan ignores them and only mentions the founder's educated companions. For example, Jordan observes that Francis thought highly of Peter of Catania, Elias of Assisi, and Caesar of Speyer as his most valued companions, since they were more useful to the Friars Minor than the uneducated lay friars.⁴⁴

Jordan shows Peter of Catania's importance as one of the founder's companions on the mission to Damietta, where Peter's background as a lawyer is emphasized and Francis and Peter display mutual appreciation for each other. Although Francis appears displeased with the changes to the *Rule*, he nonetheless is able to read the constitutions without any help from Peter, and Jordan foregrounds the founder's ability to read so as to intimate that he is literate. However, instead of making a decision on the matter by himself, Francis asks Peter for his advice, since his companion, who studied at Bologna, is a legal expert and a master of laws.⁴⁵ In this way, Jordan insinuates that Francis valued these characteristics and so was willing to defer to someone who embodied them. Furthermore, Peter's legal knowledge adds weight to the two men's deliberations over how to handle the changes in the order's dietary laws and therefore emphasizes an advantage that educated friars confer on the order. Additionally, we are told that when Francis resigned as leader of the Friars Minor, Peter was chosen to

⁴³ 1 Celano, 20–2, 31–7, 72–4, 79–91; Perugia, 439–52, 456–60; *Legenda trium sociorum*, 110–24, 129–35; *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 28–30, 84–6, 162–6, 222, 270, 312.

⁴⁴ Jordan, 36–42, 54, 58–60. Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 216, 223.

⁴⁵ Jordan, 37–8. Chapter 12: “Beatus autem Franciscus cum beato Petro Cathanii, iuris perito et domino legum, mare transiens reliquit duos vicarios, fratrem Matheum de Narnio et fratrem Gregorium de Neapoli.” Roest, “The Franciscan School System,” 257; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 361; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 58–9; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 80–1, 244–5; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 26; Clément Schmitt, “I Vicari dell'Ordine francescano da Pietro Cattani a Frate Elia,” in *Francesco d'Assisi e francescanesimo dal 1216 al 1226. Atti del IV convegno internazionale di studi francescani (Assisi, 15–17 ottobre 1976)* (Assisi: Società internazionale di studi francescani, 1977), 238, 244–6, 252–6, 258–9, 263.

shepherd the order as its vicar, thereby indicating that the educated friars were seen as the heirs to Francis' pastoral work.⁴⁶

Admittedly, we do not see a similar appreciation for Peter in the Italian *legenda*. The same "We who were with him" texts that criticize lay friars who sought education also portray Peter as lacking Francis' authority or concern for simplicity. These stories express this disapproval by showing that a lay friar who wanted a psalter continually sought Francis' permission after having already received Peter's approval.⁴⁷ However, in these tales in the "We who were with him" texts, the founder overrides Peter's decisions, since Peter was out of step with Francis' disapproval of *dominium* over books.⁴⁸ In this way, these narratives suggest that the Italian friars did not trust Peter's authority, and for good reason since he did not seem to share or to understand the founder's emphasis on Franciscan simplicity. However, we must remember that the objective of these texts, as discussed in Chapter 6, was to undermine those lay friars who wished to become learned clerics. If Peter aids these lay friars by advocating education, then he leads them to risk their souls.

⁴⁶ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 28–30, 84–6, 162–6, 222, 270. Chapter 11: "[I]n quodam capitulo apud Sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula resignavit offitium prelationis coram omnibus fratribus dicens: 'Amodo sum mortuus vobis; set ecce frater Petrus Cathanii, cui ego et vos omnes obediamus. Tunc fratres omnes ceperunt alta vo[c]e plorare et fortiter lacrimi. Et inclinans se beatus Franciscus coram fratre Petro promisit obedientiam et reverentiam.'" Chapter 39: "[I]n quodam capitulo, coram omnibus fratribus de religione, prelationis officium resignavit dicens: 'Amodo sum mortuus vobis. Set ecce inquit, frater Petrus Cathanii, cui ego et vos omnes obediamus. Et inclinans se protinus coram ipso, obedientiam et reverentiam promisit eidem.'" Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 71; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 76–83; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 31. Şenocak asserts that Francis' choice of Peter as the order's Vicar was meant in part to show his dissatisfaction with the actions of Gregory of Naples and Matthew of Narni.

⁴⁷ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 312. "Cumque ille frater novitius, de quo supra dictum est, in quodam heremitorio moraretur, accidit ut quadam die veniret illuc beatus Franciscus. Cui frater ille sic loquutus est, ei dicens: 'Pater, michi magna consolatio esset habere psalterium; sed licet generalis minister illud concedere michi velit, volo tamen illud habere de conscientia tua.'"

⁴⁸ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 312. "Et propter hoc scrixit significationem horum verborum in suis *Admonitionibus* dicens: 'Sancti fecerunt opera, et nos recitando et predicando ea volumus inde recipere honorem et gloriam.' Ac si diceret: scientia inflat, karitas autem hedificat." Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 32; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 80–1, 244–5.

Similarly, Jordan uses the close relationship between Francis and the embattled Elias to highlight the founder's esteem for learning. Although Jordan does not say anything about how much education that Elias had received, other texts suggest that the order considered Elias had received some significant degree of education, even if the details were sketchy. For example, Thomas claims that Elias had been a notary in Bologna,⁴⁹ while Salimbene asserts that he had been an upholsterer and had taught children in Assisi how to read the Psalter.⁵⁰ Since Elias' education was understood in some fashion by the *Chronica's* audience, Jordan introduces Elias to them by relating how Francis sends him to Syria to establish the Friars Minor in that region;⁵¹ how Elias converts Caesar of Speyer to the order;⁵² and how Francis returns to Assisi from Damietta with Peter, Elias, and Caesar of Speyer.⁵³ While brief, these stories indicate that, as far as Jordan is concerned, Elias could manage organizational matters, was an effective preacher, and was an important member of Francis' inner circle.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Eccleston, 65. "Primus autem minister generalis post beatum Franciscum fuit frater Helias, qui fuerat scriptor Bononiae. Cui successit frater Johannes Parens de Florentia, minister Hispaniae, vir sapiens et religiosus et summi rigoris. Quo per fautores fratris Heliae absoluto, iterum factus est generalis frater Helias. In capitulo siquidem, in quo facta est translatio sancti Francisci, voluerunt ipsi quos ad capitulum concesserat venire frater Helias, — nam omnes concessit illuc venire qui vellent—contra ministros provinciales ipsum fecisse generalem." Giulia Barone, "Elias von Cortona und Franziskus," in *Franziskus von Assisi : das Bild des Heiligen aus neuer Sicht*, ed. Dieter R. Bauer, Helmut Feld, and Ulrich Köpf, Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, vol. 54 (Köln: Böhlau, 2005), 183; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 49; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88–90, 246–8.

⁵⁰ Salimbene, vol. 1, 137. "Fuit enim unus parens fratris Helye, scilicet pater, de episcopatu Bononie, de Castro Brittorum, mater vero de Assisio fuit; et vocabatur in seculo Bonusbaro et suebat cultras et docebat puerulos in civitate Assisii psalterium legere; ingressus autem Ordinem fratrum Minorum vocatus fuit Helyas." Barone, "Elias von Cortona und Franziskus," 183–4; Roest, "The Franciscan School System," 257.

⁵¹ Jordan, 36. Chapter 9: "Frater autem Helias minister provincialis est institutus ultra mare a beato Francisco." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 58, 71; Barone, "Elias von Cortona und Franziskus," 184.

⁵² Jordan, 36; Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 24–5.

⁵³ Jordan, 38. Chapter 14: "Beatus Franciscus assumptis secum fratre Helia et fratre Petro Cathani et fratre Cesario, quem frater Helias minister Syrie, ut dictum est supra, receperat, et aliis fratribus rediit in Italiam."

⁵⁴ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 83–105, 137–67; Schmitt, "I Vicari dell'Ordine francescano," 238–9, 252–9, 263. Brooke evaluates the dependability of texts regarding Elias tenuar as the order's general minister.

However, it is in Jordan's description of the General Chapter of 1221 and of events after the founder's death that one can particularly see Jordan's depiction of the close and confident amity that Francis has for Elias as well as Elias' role as leader of the order. Since Francis is too weak to stand up or to speak, he sits at Elias' feet and whispers his prayers and instructions to this companion, who repeats them to the rest of the friars.⁵⁵ Additionally, serving as the order's Vicar after Peter of Catania's death, Elias addresses a letter in 1226 to the Friars Minor to inform them that Francis has died and that the founder has received the stigmata and performed other miracles.⁵⁶ Despite the abuses committed by Elias during his time as General Minister from 1232 to 1239,⁵⁷ Jordan nevertheless portrays him as one of Francis' most respected and trusted companions, someone whom the founder treats as a close friend and in whom he has faith as a leader.

While Caesar of Speyer never became Vicar or General Minister of the order, Jordan nonetheless indicates that he occupied a position close to Francis, one that permitted Caesar

⁵⁵ Jordan, 40–2. Chapter 17: “Et quia beatus Franciscus tunc debilis erat, quidquid ex parte sui capitulo dicendum erat, frater Helias loquebatur et beatus Franciscus sedens ad pedes fratris Helie traxit eum per tunicam. Qui inclinatus est ad ipsum, quid vellet . . .” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 88, 107–8.

⁵⁶ Jordan, 54. Chapter 50: “Defuncto ergo beato Francisco, frater Helias, vicarius beati Francisci, fratribus turbatis super obitu tanti patris per totum ordinem litteras consolatorias destinavit denunciando singulis et universis, quod omnibus, sicut ipsi beatus Franciscus preceperat, ex parte beati Francisci benediceret et ab omnibus absolveret culpis, insuper declarans de stigmatibus et aliis miraculis, que post mortem suam ad beatum Franciscum operari dignatus est altissimus . . .” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 117–18.

⁵⁷ Jordan, 58–60. Chapter 61: “Ipse enim habuit totum ordinem in sua potestate, sicut ipsum habuerant beatus Franciscus et frater Johannes Parens qui ante ipsum fuerant. Unde et pro sua voluntate plurima ordini non conveniencia disponebat. Infra septem enim annos capitulum generale non tenuit et fratres sibi resistentes hic inde dispersit. Habito ergo consilio fratres decreverunt communiter ordini providere.” Chapter 62: “Anno domini 1237. frater Helias ad singulas provincias destinavit visitatores suo convenientes proposito; per quorum visitaciones inordinatas fratres amplius quam prius contra ipsum exasperati fuerunt.” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 23–4; Edouard Lempp, *Frère Élie de Cortone; étude biographique*, Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du moyen âge, vol. III (Paris: Fischbacher, 1901), 20–3; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 48. Brooke, citing Lempp, writes that, during Elias' time as General Minister, Elias' goaler clubbed Caesar to death; however, the pages that she cites say nothing about such an incident. It is important to point out that Jordan treats Elias respectfully throughout the *Chronica*, even when Jordan relates General Minister Elias' administrative abuses as well as the role that he played in convincing the papacy to permit the friars to remove Elias from his ministry.

to use his educational background to the order's benefit. Of these three companions, Jordan describes Caesar's educational background most fully: before joining the order, we are informed, Caesar was a theology student of Conrad of Speyer, a prelate who had preached the crusade and who later became the bishop of Hildesheim.⁵⁸ Through Elias's influence, Caesar joins the Friars Minor⁵⁹ and becomes part of the founder's inner circle.⁶⁰ Indeed, as Francis turns his mind to compose a rule in 1221, he appeals to Caesar for help with scriptural quotations.⁶¹ Later, when Francis decides to send a new mission to Germany in 1221, the founder entrusts this undertaking to Caesar.⁶² Unlike John of Penna, who led a mission to Germany in 1219 without making any adequate preparations, Caesar spends three months planning for the mission before heading north,⁶³ and this difference indicates that Caesar was believed to have applied a more thoughtful approach toward such an undertaking. With his stories about Caesar, Jordan indicates that learned friars were more likely to convert educated clerics to the order and that clerics were both useful in their knowledge of Scripture

⁵⁸ Jordan, 37. Chapter 9: "Iste Cesarius, vir theutonicus de Spirea natus et subdiaconus, magistri Conradi de Spirea predicatoris crucis et post hildensemensis episcopi in theologia discipulus fuit. Hic adhuc secularis existens magnus predicator et ewangelice perfectionis imitator fuit."

⁵⁹ Jordan, 37. Chapter 9: "Sed per magistrum Conradum ereptus Parisius est reversus. Et post solemnibus factis passagio mare transiens ad predicationem fratris Helie, ut dictum est, ad ordinem est conversus et vir magne doctrine et exempli est effectus." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26.

⁶⁰ Jordan, 38. Chapter 14: "Beatus Franciscus assumptis secum fratre Helia et fratre Petro Cathani et fratre Cesario, quem frater Helias minister Syrie, ut dictum est supra, receperat, et aliis fratribus rediit in Italiam."

⁶¹ Jordan, 39. Chapter 15: "Et videns beatus Franciscus fratrem Cesarium sacris litteris eruditum commisit sibi, ut regulam, quam ipse simplicibus verbis conceperat, verbis ewangelii adornaret." Zips, "Franziskus von Assisi, vita via," 24–5; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26.

⁶² Jordan, 42. Chapter 18: "Quo audito frater Helias precepit sibi in virtute sancte obediencie, ut cum fratre Cesario in Theutoniam properaret" Chapter 19: "Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum fratribus . . ." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26.

⁶³ Jordan, 42–3. Chapter 19: "Ipse vero in valle spoletana moram fecit fere per tres menses. Et cum iter arripere disponderet ad Theutoniam, vocatis fratribus suis fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Barnabam et azquosdam alios misit ante faciem suam ad preparandum sibi et fratribus suis locum in Tridentum, aliis fratribus per trinos et quaternos subsequentibus."

and more thoughtful in planning missions to distant lands.

Even though the Italian *legenda* spotlight many of the founder's companions, most of whom were lay and uneducated, Jordan mentions only three of Francis' companions, and these three had received some level of education and had served in some capacity in the order's hierarchy. Since it is likely that Jordan had read Thomas of Celano's works, we can conclude that he was aware of Thomas' listing of the founder's lay companions and of the manner in which he depicts them.⁶⁴ Thus, one can infer that Jordan purposely omits mentioning any of Francis' lay companions, such as Leo, Angelo, Ruffino, or Giles—companions whom Thomas wrote about in his *Life of Saint Francis* and whose memories were encapsulated in John of Perugia's *legendum*, in the *Legend of the Three Companions*, in Thomas' *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, and in the "We who were with him" texts of the *Assisi Compilation*. In this way, Jordan's choice in highlighting Peter, Elias, and Caesar signals his intention to focus attention on clerical education and those educated brethren who participated in the order's hierarchy. These were clearly more important themes for Jordan than Franciscan simplicity.

The Efficacy of Clerical versus Lay Friars in regard to the Order's Expansion

If Jordan felt such a strong preference for educated clerics over uneducated lay friars, what experiences encouraged this powerful sentiment in him? Much of Jordan's experience included his involvement in the order's rapid expansion during the early to mid thirteenth century. This expansion, in turn, fuelled the entry of new members into the order. However, since provincial Franciscan writers were more disposed toward clericalization and education,

⁶⁴ 1 Celano, 20–2, 31–7, 72–4, 79–91.

we need to ask how an abundance of lay friars and a scarcity of clerical friars affected the order's manner and rate of expansion, how the order dealt with this shortage, and whether or not the order made use of non-Franciscan clerics.

John B. Freed suggests that Caesar of Speyer used his first-hand experience with the German ecclesiastical structure in order to target pivotal towns so as to rapidly evangelize the region.⁶⁵ Bert Roest suggests that missionary efforts encouraged clerics to join, which then enabled further expansion.⁶⁶ For her part, Neslihan Şenocak asserts that the Rule of 1223 connected education to governance, since learned friars were more knowledgeable about the needs of lay and clerical friars and were better able to administer the order.⁶⁷

First, it is helpful to ask how, in the *Chronica*, the acquisition of a large number of lay novices affected the order's rate of expansion. In the *Chronica*, Jordan describes how a scarcity of clerical friars hampered the order from properly ministering to the lay friars' spiritual needs and how that shortage inhibited the order's ability to expand. In order to depict this situation, Jordan makes use of constitutional statutes that restricted the friars to giving their confessions only to Franciscan clerics. Although his audience would have known about these restrictions, the first such written injunctions did not appear in legislation until 1260 in the *Constitutions of Narbonne*,⁶⁸ thereby suggesting either that Jordan projects this

⁶⁵ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27, 85, 140.

⁶⁶ Roest, *Franciscan Learning*, 16.

⁶⁷ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 49–52.

⁶⁸ *Narbonne*, 58–9, 70. Rubric IV, article 23: “Ad illud autem altissimum sacramentum diligenter se praeparent fratres omnes. Et ut hoc melius fiat, statuimus ut singuli determinatos de licentia guardiani habeant confessores, quibus bis ad minus confiteantur in qualibet septimana. Et de hoc solliciti sint guardiani, ut per utriusque sacramenti frequentiam sanctae conversationis in utroque homine puritas observetur.” Rubric VI, article 23: “Confessores audiant confessiones horis certis a provli capitulo ad hoc statutis. — Nullus sacerdos confessiones religiosorum aut saecularium audiat absque licentia sui provlis Ministri et obtenta licentia dioecesani Episcopi vel proprii sacerdotis. Et nullus hanc licentiam petat sine sui Ministri licentia vel custodis.”

constraint backward in time or that the constitutions merely reflect the institutionalization of an already well-established practice.

For this injunction to have been effective, though, the Friars Minor needed a sufficient number of clerical friars, so as to have been able to minister to all of the order's members without relying on non-Franciscan priests. Jordan does not provide the names of all of the novices brought into the German order, as he concentrates on a few of the more prominent ones who were clerics, deacons who were quickly raised to the priesthood,⁶⁹ or novices (lay and clerical) who accompanied more senior friars on missions to new cities or regions.⁷⁰

However, even these additional clerical friars were insufficient to minister to all of the lay friars. For example, Jordan says that Caesar of Speyer welcomed many clerical and lay

⁶⁹ Jordan, 43, 45, 47. Chapter 20: "Ad quorum predicacionem quidam civis de Tridento, vir dives theutonica et lombardica lingua eruditus nomine Peregrinus . . . ad ordinem est receptus." Chapter 25: "Eodem anno frater Cesarius veniens Herbipolim recepit ad ordinem iuvenem abilem et litteratum nomine Harthmodum. . . . Similiter et recepit quendam laicum nomine Rodegerum Similiter et recepit quendam laycum nomine Rodolphum." Chapter 26: "Anno domini 1222. frater Cesarius tot iam fratres tam clericos quam laycos receperat, quod . . . capitulum primum provinciale in Wormacia celebraret." Chapter 28: "[E]odem anno fecit tres promoveri, videlicet Palmerium, de quo dictum est supra, et Abraham Ungarum et Andream Theutonicum, qui ante Hartmodus vocabatur." Chapter 30: "Eadem anno 15. kalendas aprilis frater Cesarius fecit quartum sacerdotem in ordine promoveri, videlicet fratrem Jordanum de Yane vallis spoletane" Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 29.

⁷⁰ Jordan, 45, 48–50. Chapter 24: "Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch. Qui ab eiusdem loci episcopo benigne recepti sunt. Et alios tres fratres cum fratre Joseph misit ad Ratisponam. Frater vero Cesarius precedentium vestigia subsecutus fratres verbo et exemplo in bono confirmabat." Chapter 34: "Cum fratre vero Johanne de Plano Carpinis Saxoniam intraverunt frater Johannes et frater Wilhelmus Anglici et frater Egidius lombardus clericus et frater Palmerius sacerdos et frater Reynaldus sacerdos de Spoleto et frater Rodegerus theutonicus laicus et frater Rokkerus laicus et frater Benedictus theutonicus laicus et frater Tichmarus laicus et frater Emanuel de Verona sartor." Chapter 35: "Ad fratrum vero predicacionem et exemplum multi ad penitenciam compuncti se ordini reddiderunt. Quorum unus fuit Bernhardus filius comitis de Poppenburch, maioris ecclesie canonicus, et Albertus magister puerorum vir litteratus et quidam Ludolphus et quidam miles." Chapter 37: "[T]ransmiserunt et fratrem Jacobum custodem Haltsacie virum gratiosum, mansuetum, modestum et pium custodem Saxonie secundum ordinaverunt, mittendo secum de senioribus fratribus ordinis tam clericis quam laicis, qui sua humilitate et exemplo vite valde apud clerum et populum breviter in gracia profecerunt." Chapter 40: "Fratres vero qui cum fratre Jordane missi sunt, hii erant: frater Hermannus de Wicense, sacerdos novicius et predicator, et frater Conradus de Herbipoli dyaconus novicius, frater Henricus de Herbipoli subdiaconus novicius, frater Arnoldus clericus novicius; laici vero frater Henricus de Colonia, frater Gernotus de Wormacia, frater Conradus Suevie. Et istos subsecuti sunt frater Johannes de Colonia et frater Henricus de Hildenseim."

members into the provincial order during 1221 and 1222,⁷¹ and yet the clerical friars were spread so thinly that only one novice priest was on hand in Speyer and Worms during 1222 to celebrate the Mass and to hear friars' confessions.⁷² The situation seems to have worsened by 1223 when Jordan, newly elevated to the priesthood, was the only cleric available to perform these functions for the lay friars in Worms, Mainz, and Speyer.⁷³ These remarks indicate that the German order accepted many more lay friars than clerical ones during these early years and that this abundance of lay friars and scarcity of clerical friars diminished the order's ability to provide pastoral care.

In the *Chronica*, Jordan suggests that the reason why there were so few clerical friars in the German province was that the Friars minor admitted many entrants, but these novices consisted primarily of lay novices. If we look at the original 1221 mission, which contained six lay and seven clerical members, we can see that the mission in Germany included enough clerics to attend to those lay friars that journeyed north. However, an influx of many new lay converts would have increased the ratio of laity to clerics within the mission. As Jordan indicates, whenever the order attracted an undetermined number of novices, the provincial minister sent some of them to new cities to establish the Friars Minor in that locale. This

⁷¹ Jordan, 45. Chapter 25: "Eodem anno frater Cesarius veniens Herbipolim recepit ad ordinem iuvenem abilem et litteratum nomine Harthmodum. . . . Similiter et recepit quendam laicum nomine Rodegerum Similiter et recepit quendam laycum nomine Rodolphum." Chapter 26: "Anno domini 1222. frater Cesarius tot iam fratres tam clericos quam laycos receperat, quod fratribus de civitatibus vicinis convocatis capitulum primum provinciale in Wormacia celebraret." Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126.

⁷² Jordan, 47. Chapter 28: "Eodem anno, qui fuit annus secundus quo fratres venerant in Theutonium, cum frater Cesarius, minister Theutonie, in Colonia et in supradictis civitatibus fratres collocasset et paucitatem haberet sacerdotum, ita ut unus novicius sacerdos in Spirea et in Wormacia in magnis solemnitatibus fratribus celebraret et eorum confessiones audiret." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126.

⁷³ Jordan, 47. Chapter 30: "Eodem anno 15 kalendas aprilis frater Cesarius fecit quartum sacerdotem in ordine promoveri, videlicet fratrem Jordanum de Yane vallis spoletane, qui fere per unam estatem alternatis vicibus solus fuit in Wormacia, Moguncia et Spirea." Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 48.

method of expansion is most evident in 1224 when Albert of Pisa⁷⁴ dispatched the experienced Jordan to establish the order in Thuringia with a handful of novices. Among these novices were several clerics: Hermann of Weissensee (priest and preacher), Conrad of Würzburg (subdeacon), Henry of Würzburg (subdeacon), and Arnold (cleric).⁷⁵ However, Jordan also took several lay friars: Henry of Cologne, Gernot of Worms, Conrad of Swabia, John of Cologne, and Henry of Hildesheim.⁷⁶

Since Jordan was the only friar from the 1221 mission who was sent to Thuringia, we can see that Albert relied on him as an experienced friar to lead a new undertaking. Considering that Jordan highlights that John of Pian di Carpine, Nicholas the Humble, and himself—all educated individuals—were elevated into the hierarchy and that he could not remember the names of the lay friars, we might conclude that the provincial ministers in Germany relied on the educated members to lead new missions. This would suggest that the order preferred those friars with some form of education in positions of authority.

Since the Friars Minor had troubled administering to the needs of lay friars in established regions, it is useful to consider how much of an impact the influx of a large number of lay novices had on the German order when it moved into new cities. According to the *Chronica*, the custodians occasionally place lay friars in cities without the benefit of a clerical friar who can hear confessions, perform the Liturgical Hours, or celebrate the mass. So as to minister to

⁷⁴ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 183–94; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–9. Brooke assesses the narrative regarding Albert of Pisa’s term as the order’s general minister.

⁷⁵ Jordan, 49. Chapter 40: “Fratres vero qui cum fratre Jordane missi sunt, hii erant: frater Hermannus de Wicense, sacerdos novicius et predicator, et frater Conradus de Herbipoli dyaconus novicius, frater Henricus de Herbipoli subdiaconus novicius, frater Arnoldus clericus novicius.”

⁷⁶ Jordan, 49–50. Chapter 40: “. . . laici vero frater Henricus de Colonia, frater Gernotus de Wormacia, frater Conradus Suevie. Et istos subsecuti sunt frater Johannes de Colonia et frater Henricus de Hildenseim.” Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27–8.

these lay friars, a Franciscan priest often travels a distance that he finds inconvenient if it is performed frequently. For instance, Jordan relates that he establishes several lay friars in Nordhausen in Thuringia in 1225, but they do not have a priest to celebrate the Eucharist for them or to hear their confessions. Because he grows weary after three years of visiting these friars so often in order to serve as their priest, he recalls them from Nordhausen.⁷⁷

One implication of Jordan's characterization of the establishment of the Friars Minor in Germany is that it was difficult to set up the order in a new city until the Franciscans had sufficient clerics to care for the lay friars in cities where they were already established as well as in any new locations. Consequently, one can infer from the *Chronica* that the Franciscans would probably have expanded faster had they had more clerical members to administer to the spiritual needs of the order's members rather than the abundance of lay friars that joined at first. In the light of this limitation upon the Franciscans' expansion, Jordan's text can be read as highlighting those priestly functions that eventually secured the order's success, and which, not coincidentally, Francis himself had prized most highly in his writings.

Since relying solely on Franciscan clerics caused such difficulties, it is useful to explore why the Friars Minor did not make use of non-Franciscan priests to minister to the order's lay friars. Francis' writing is rather vague when it comes to discussing the relationships between the order's members and non-Franciscan clergy. For instance, in "The Later

⁷⁷ Jordan, 51. Chapter 44: "Et quia fratres ibi missi tantum laici erant et custos tedium habebat tociens pro eorum confessionibus audiendis, quociens necesse erat, discurrere, cum annis tribus ibi mansissent, ad eorum consolacionem ipsos revocavit et in aliis domibus collocavit." See Bonaventure, *Constitutions of Narbonne*, 70. Rubric VI, article 3: "Confessores audiant confessiones horis certis a provli capitulo ad hoc statutis. Nullus sacerdos confessiones religiosorum aut saecularium audiat absque licentia sui provlis Ministri et obtenta licentia dioecesani Episcopi vel proprii sacerdotis. Et nullus hanc licentiam petat sine sui Ministri licentia vel custodis." Even though the regular clergy could ostensibly hear the confessions of a friar (the first prohibition against allowing the regular clergy to do so without the provincial minister's consent is found in the 1260 Constitutions of Narbonne), Jordan suggests that the friars in Germany only permitted Franciscan clergy to hear the order's members' confessions. Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 25–6; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 126.

Admonition and Exhortation to the Laity” (1220?), Francis says that everyone must go to a priest to confess his or her sins and to receive the Eucharist.⁷⁸ Moreover, he informs his readers that they should frequently go to churches, where they were to venerate and to revere priests because of their ability to administer the Eucharist.⁷⁹ In his “First Letter to the Custodians” (1220), Francis exhorts his followers to entreat the clergy to revere the Eucharist, though he does not specify whether he meant the secular clergy or the Franciscan clerics.⁸⁰ However, we can see more clearly in Francis’ “Second Letter to the Custodians” (1220) that the founder had the secular clergy in mind, since he referred to bishops as well as the clergy.⁸¹

In the *Rule of 1221*, Francis directed the friars to confess to clerical friars whenever they could, but permitted the friars to seek out non-Franciscan priests if a Franciscan cleric was not available.⁸² Although Francis wrote nothing similar in the *Rule of 1223*, he expresses in

⁷⁸ Francis, “Epistola ad Fideles II,” 118. “Debemus siquidem confiteri sacerdoti omnia peccata nostra; et recipiamus corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi ab eo.”

⁷⁹ Francis, “Epistola ad Fideles II,” 119–20. “Debemus etiam ecclesias visitare frequenter et venerari clericos et revereri, non tantum propter eos, si sint peccatores, sed propter officium et administrationem sanctissimi corporis et sanguinis Christi, quod sacrificant in altari et recipiunt et aliis administrant.”

⁸⁰ Francis, “Epistola ad custodes I,” *OSPFA*, 102–3. “Rogo vos plus quam de me ipso, quatenus, cum decet et videritis expedire, clericis humiliter supplicetis, quod sanctissimum corpus et sanguinem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et sancta nomina et verba eius scripta, quae sanctificant corpus, super omnia debeant venerari.”

⁸¹ Francis, “Epistola ad custodes II,” *OSPFA*, 106. “Rogo vos coram Domino Deo nostro, quantum possum, quod litteras illas, quae tractant de sanctissimo corpore et sanguine Domini nostri, detis episcopis et aliis clericis; et memoria retineatis, quae super his vobis commendavimus.”

⁸² *Regula non bullata*, 276–7. “Et fratres mei benedicti tam clerici quam laici confiteantur peccata sua sacerdotibus nostrae religionis. Et si non potuerint, confiteantur aliis discretis et catholicis sacerdotibus scientes firmiter et attendentes, quia a quibuscumque sacerdotibus catholicis acceperint poenitentiam et absolutionem, absoluti erunt procul dubio ab illis peccatis, si poenitentiam sibi iniunctam procuraverint humiliter et fideliter observare.” Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 80, 82.

his “Letter to the Entire Order” that he confesses to clerical friars,⁸³ without mentioning non-Franciscan priests. However, in the last text that Francis composed, his “Testament,” he only mentions clerics in a generic manner,⁸⁴ either suggesting that it did not matter whether or not the priest were a friar or that he had in mind a Franciscan cleric but failed to be precise in his language.

It is evident that the friars recognized tensions between lay and clerical friars by the 1240s, since the “We who were with him” texts mention how Francis endeavored to treat lay and clerical members equally. In one chapter, the author recounts that Francis did not place clerics on a pedestal since he recognizes that they are men prone to making errors and to having flaws. Indeed, the founder often exclaims that people achieve salvation through their deeds and not through their authority, and this assertion indicates that he believes that lay and clerical friars have equal chances of achieving salvation. Furthermore, Francis counsels his followers to be at peace with the clergy instead of quarreling with them. By obeying, supporting, and protecting even the most flawed clerics, then, the friars earn God’s blessing while the clerics receive God’s condemnation.⁸⁵

This tension is also found in three papal bulls that defend the friars from complaints by the secular clergy. For instance, when some friars were suspected of being heretics, Honorius III issued the bull *Cum dilecti* (1219) to inform the traditional secular clergy that the Friars

⁸³ Francis, “Epistola toti ordini missa,” 146. “Confiteor praeterea Domino Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto, beatae Mariae perpetuae Virgini et omnibus sanctis in caelo et in terra, fratri H. ministro religionis nostrae sicut venerabili domino meo et sacerdotibus ordinis nostri et omnibus aliis fratribus meis benedictis omnia peccata mea.”

⁸⁴ *Testamentum*, 313. “Et quamvis sim simplex et infirmus, tamen semper volo habere clericum, qui mihi faciat officium, sicut in regula continetur.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

⁸⁵ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 58. “Dicebat enim . . . ‘Si filii pacis fueritis clerum et populum Deo lucrabimini, quod acceptabilius iudicat Dominus, quam populum solum, clero scandalizato, lucrari. Tegite, inquit, eorum casus, multiplices supplete defectus, et cum hoc feceritis, humiliores estote.’” Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 211; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 24–5, 134.

Minor were faithful and orthodox members of the Catholic community.⁸⁶ As Jordan indicates, locals in France, Germany, and Hungary were wary about the friars' orthodoxy, and this bull was written in response to the concerns expressed by French officials.⁸⁷ Issued in 1223, Honorius III's *Fratrum minorem continent* chastised the clergy for failing to uphold the Franciscans clergy's pronouncements of excommunication. The problem that clerical friars faced was that it was difficult to coerce disobedient friars to return to obedience without the use of excommunication. Unfortunately, some members of the traditional clergy refused to recognize Franciscan pronouncements of excommunication, since they wanted to reserve this privilege for themselves and did not want to share it with the Friars Minor.⁸⁸ Issued in 1237, Gregory IX's *Quoniam abundavit iniquitas* defended the friars from clerical objections that the friars were intervening in a task—preaching—that was traditionally reserved for the clergy.⁸⁹ In some instances the friars attempted to find compromises with the secular clergy, such as in 1237 when provincial minister John of Pian di Carpine assured Abbot Conrad of Fulda that the friars would refrain from preaching on the special feast days of the Benedictine monastery as well as from interring in the friars' cemetery those laymen

⁸⁶ Honorius III, "Cum dilecti (1218)," in *BF*, 2. "Universitatem vestram rogamus, et hortamur in Domino, per Apostolica Vobis scripta mandantes, quatenus latores praesentium de praedictorum Fratrum Collegio existentes, cum ad vos duxerint declinandum, ipsos recipiatis, sicut Catholicos, et Fideles; alias eis ob reverentiam divinam, et nostram exhibentes vos favorabiles, et benignos." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 35; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 76–7, 239–40; Landini, *Clericalization*, 38, 57.

⁸⁷ Jordan, 35; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 35, 37–43, 90.

⁸⁸ Honorius III, "Fratrum Minorem continent (1223)," in *BF*, 19. "Nunc autem non sine admiratione accepimus, quod sicut relatum est Nobis, cum praedicti Priores, et Custodes taliter discedentes excommunicationi subjiciunt, hos aliqui vestrum tanquam excommunicatos evitare non curant: unde illos magis obstinari contingit, et dictorum Fratrum Religionem, et Ordinem infamari." Landini, *Clericalization*, 57–8; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 35, 37–43, 90.

⁸⁹ Gregory IX, "Quoniam abundavit (1237)," in *BF*, 214–15. "[A]c Populos vobis commissos, ut ex ore ipsorum verbi Dei semen devote suscipiant, admonentes, ut in suis necessitatibus eis libenter assistatis; nec impediatis, quominus illi, qui ad eorum praedicationem accesserint, cum eorum Sacerdotibus valeant confiteri, quoad praedicta suscipienda vestris exhortationibus populi praeparati tamquam bona, ac fructifera terra pro vitiorum tribulis incipiant segetem germinare virtutum." Landini, *Clericalization*, 65–7; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 35, 37–43, 90.

who served as servants at the abbey.⁹⁰

Tensions worsened in the 1250s with attacks on the mendicant orders by the secular university masters in Paris. Although the university was founded around 1150 and recognized by the French king in 1200, the Dominicans did not arrive at the university until 1229, and the Franciscans did not appear until 1231. The discord between the secular and mendicant masters at the University of Paris began over the mendicants' late arrival, their differences from the secular clergy, and their competition for students. However, hostility flared when a clash between secular students and the Parisian watch in 1253 engulfed the university. In protest, the secular masters ceased teaching and called on their mendicant brethren to join them. At the time, the Dominicans held two chairs of theology, but were about to lose one of them. The Friars Preacher agreed to join the strike if the secular masters agreed to permit the Dominicans to retain both chairs; however, this proposal was met with charges of opportunism and with efforts to expel the mendicants from the University. Pope Alexander IV (1254–1261) and King Louis IX (1226–1270), both of whom were sympathetic toward the mendicant orders, attempted to arbitrate the matter.⁹¹

This conflict was exacerbated when Gerard of Borgo San Donnino (d. 1276), a Franciscan in Paris, published his *Introductory Book to the Eternal Gospel* (1254), in which he built on the apocalyptic theology of Joachim of Fiore (1135–1202). At about the same time, William of Saint Amour, one of the secular masters at the University of Paris, produced *On the Dangers of the End Times* (1255), which outlined his complaints regarding the

⁹⁰ Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 35–8, 119–22.

⁹¹ Guy Geltner, ed., *William of Saint-Amour: De periculis novissimorum temporum* (Paris; Dudley, Mass.: Peeters Press, 2008), 5–13; James Dayne Dawson, “William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition,” *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 225–9.

Franciscans and the Dominicans and their encroachments on the secular clergies' privileges. Wishing to increase the pressure on the Friars Minor, William delivered his grievances regarding Gerard's work to the pontiff. The papacy deemed this work to be heretical on 23 November 1256, and a papal commission ordered the work to be destroyed and sentenced Gerard to life in prison. At about the same time, William had written criticisms about Louis IX and the papal tribunal looking into Gerard, and these criticisms prompted the pontiff to remove William from the University and exile him from France.⁹² The papacy's pronouncements against both Franciscans and the clergy did little to diminish these tensions.

Jordan, however, says very little about these strained relations other than to make a rather cryptic reference to events in Germany. The only indication in the *Chronica* of problems with the non-Franciscan clergy in Germany can be found in chapter 74, near the end of the work. In this chapter, he only says that the archbishop of Mainz caused anxiety with the Friars Minor in Germany in 1244.⁹³ This lack of information suggests that he expected his audience to know about the details of the type and extent of these anxieties and how they were resolved. However, it at least appears that the German friars were not exempt from these tensions. Moreover, this discord explains why the Friars Minor wanted to rely on their own clerics and not make use of the secular clergy for hearing confessions and for receiving the Eucharist.⁹⁴

In this way, Jordan directs our attention to the order's desire to limit its interactions with non-Franciscan priests who might have been hostile to the friars, so as to have the Friars

⁹² Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 177–86; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 152–65; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 53–7; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 129–43, 189–90; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 83.

⁹³ Jordan, 62.

⁹⁴ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 152–65; Robson, *The Friars Minor in the Middle Ages*, 25, 58–65, 71–2; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 52–9, 62–5.

Minor rely on its own priests for the spiritual wellbeing and salvation of all of its members. This apprehension regarding non-Franciscan priests is understandable, because some of these priests were more interested in protecting clerical privileges. Additionally, the secular clergy likely considered ministering to the Friars Minor, who they saw as infringing on these privileges, as a conflict of interests. For these reasons, it made sense for the Franciscans to cleave to their own clerics for their spiritual needs, since the friars were more likely to receive the spiritual care they needed while avoiding the strained relations and potential clashes with the secular clergy.

Conclusion

The different ways in which Franciscan writers in Italy and their counterparts in non-Italian provinces discussed clericalization and education indicate two contrasting experiences of and attitudes toward the Franciscan ideal. In fact, the early- to mid-thirteenth-century Franciscan sources composed in Italy reflect the viewpoints of their authors, most of whom were lay advocates of simplicity. By contrast, the authors of the provincial texts demonstrate the concerns of friars who experienced or observed the order's expansion outside of Italy.

In this way, an advocacy of education within the Friars Minor can be seen in those texts composed in England and Germany because such general ministers as John Parenti and Haymo of Faversham encouraged learning. Indeed, Thomas and Jordan indicate that the Friars Minor benefited more from educated friars than do the authors of the Italian *legenda*. These two authors' promotion of educated friars likely resulted from their experiences with provincial ministers who deliberately and systematically expanded the order in England and Germany. These friars who established the order in non-Italian regions experienced firsthand

the limitations imposed by an abundance of illiterate lay friars and saw the advantages conferred by a more educated and clerical membership.

With the *Chronica*, Jordan presented to his audience at Halberstadt in 1262 a group identity that primarily consisted of educated clerical Friars Minor involved in mission. Since this audience consisted of friars who were younger than Jordan and who had joined the order long after him, it is doubtful that they related to the difficulties that he and the original members of the German mission had experienced, such as the manner in which they dealt with a scarcity of priests during their expansion through Germany. However, the friars at Halberstadt would have appreciated hearing stories that reaffirmed their importance within the order and within Christendom. This significance does not seem to have been attempted to denigrate the lay friars, but instead to rectify the omission in previous narratives of the role of educated friars within the Friars Minor.

CHAPTER 8: MISSIONS AS JUSTIFICATION FOR APPOINTING A CARDINAL PROTECTOR

As noted previously, Chapters 6, 7, 8, and 9 explore connections between clericalization and education among the Friars Minor before 1262. While the two preceding chapters investigate the effects of clericalization on education within the order (Chapter 6) and on Franciscan mission (Chapter 7), this chapter considers the ways in which Jordan and other friars perceived the cardinal protector, and the following chapter examines the influence of clericalization on multilingualism within the order. Since Francis explained to the Friars Minor his reasons for wanting to have a cardinal protector and his conception of the relationships between the papacy, the cardinal protector, and the order in very brief and vague terms,¹ Jordan and other Franciscans attempted to dispel the ambiguities by relating various conflicting stories regarding how and why Francis initially asked the pope to designate a cardinal protector for the Friars Minor.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Jordan recounts the failures of the 1219 missions before he describes the manner in which the 1221 mission to Germany succeeded. However, in Francis' attempts to deal with problems that arose in Italy while he was in Egypt, Jordan notes that the founder asked the pope to appoint a cardinal protector, because he needed help restoring discipline among the friars. In this version of events, a few friars in Italy made changes to the Franciscan dietary practices or in other ways acted contrary to the order's norms. Since some of these practices related to the terms in which papal approval of the

¹ *Regula bullata*, 237.

order had first been secured, Francis required either the pope or a papal agent to rectify some of the problems.² In this way, the *Chronica* indicates that the papal appointment of a cardinal protector played an important role in the Franciscans' evolution in the early thirteenth century; however, little evidence survives as to what motivated the founder to ask the pope to appoint a cardinal protector for the order or how the cardinal protector functioned vis-à-vis the papacy and the Franciscans. However, this lack of information left room for Jordan and other authors to explain this event within changing perceptions of Franciscan identity. Indeed, the early to mid thirteenth-century texts that treat this subject, Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*, John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan's *Chronica*, furnish very different explanations for Francis' motivations for requesting a cardinal protector as well as varying conceptions of the cardinal protector's responsibilities. Consequently, these authors used their contrasting ideas about the cardinal protector to discuss the order's identity, particularly in terms of the friars' relationship with the pontiff and the papal curia. Therefore, in order to analyze Jordan's depiction of the cardinal protector's role, it is useful to compare his story in the *Chronica* with similar narratives in other thirteenth-century texts.

Because of the variety of versions offered by the narrative sources, modern scholarship tends to disagree regarding Francis' incentives for wanting a cardinal protector and his conceptions for the cardinal's responsibilities. For instance, John Moorman focuses on Thomas of Celano's story of Hugolino actively undertaking the role of cardinal protector in an unofficial capacity before the pontiff made the position official.³ For his part, Raoul

² Jordan, 37–9. Chapters 11–14.

³ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 47.

Manselli blends Thomas' and Jordan's accounts in order to create a unified narrative, although information from the *Chronica* dominates.⁴ Rosalind Brooke also relies on Thomas of Celano's *Life of Francis* and Jordan's *Chronica* for her account of how Hugolino became the order's cardinal protector, though she attempts to resolve their conflicting versions by asserting that each author describes events that happened at different points in time.⁵ Consequently, scholars tend to privilege one story over the others or to consolidate two or more of them into a single narrative.

Given the absence of explicit textual evidence, such as in the *Rule of 1223* or in the founder's *Testament*, for Francis' reasoning or his explanation of the cardinal's role in regard to the order, the Friars Minor themselves were left speculating about these issues. As a result, the friars developed competing points of view within their collective memory to explain this question. As a result, instead of attempting to assess differing levels of credibility, it is useful to examine these stories as demonstrations of the values and concepts about the order from different perspectives within the order. In particular, this chapter will explore the manner in which Thomas of Celano explains the justification for and role of the cardinal protector with respect to the Franciscans' relationship with the papal curia, while John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan debate these matters in terms of the order's clericalization. To explore the manner in which the friars debated these topics, it will be useful to ask how the sources portray the emergence of the cardinal protector, what responsibilities he is described as having, and in what ways the cardinal protector plays an important role in early to mid thirteenth-century texts.

⁴ Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 227–9.

⁵ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 59–76.

Maintenance of Franciscan Orthodoxy as Justification for the Cardinal Protector in Francis' Writings

In the *Chronica*, Jordan indicates that several friars in Italy were acting in a disruptive manner and that Francis needed a cardinal protector to correct these friars and to bring them back into obedience.⁶ While Jordan's story is suggestive, scholarship has often examined the role of the cardinal protector in terms of power relationships within the Church. For instance, Grado Merlo suggests that Hugolino acted as a mediator for the friars, and that his experience prompted Francis to request Hugolino's help. This was grounded in the founder's desire to reform the order's institutional structure so that it would be more similar to those of monastic orders or the canons regular.⁷ Hugh Lawrence characterizes the relationship between Francis and Hugolino as one of patronage in which Hugolino exercised influence within the Church for the Friars Minor.⁸ For her part, Brooke asserts that the creation of the role of the cardinal protector increased the order's dependence on the papacy, even though Francis requested the relationship.⁹ As a result, it is useful to explore how the ambiguity in Francis' terminology in his writings provided the friars with sufficient space to develop this rationale and the cardinal protector's responsibilities as a vehicle to express their conceptions of Franciscan identity. To investigate this topic, it is beneficial, then, to ask what Francis wrote about the role of the cardinal protector and how clear the language in early to mid thirteenth-century texts is when

⁶ Jordan, 37–9. Chapter 14: “Cum ergo beatus Franciscus domino Hostiensi pape suo causas turbacionis sue retulisset, litteras fratris Philippi in continenti revocavit, et frater Johannes cum suis cum verecundia a curia est repulsus.” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 67–8; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74, 238.

⁷ Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 36–40.

⁸ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 181–2.

⁹ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 59–76.

describing the cardinal protector.

In his writings, Francis mentions the cardinal protector in an official role in two different contexts, and, while neither describes the circumstances or inducements behind the appointment, they nonetheless suggest that the founder wanted someone in the papal curia whose understanding of Church doctrine was beyond reproach and who could reinforce doctrine within the order. Indeed, Francis indicates that he was concerned about some of the friars' ability to maintain orthodoxy and orthopraxy, particularly as expressed in the *Rule of 1223*. In this *Rule*, the founder commands the order's ministers to request from the pontiff a cardinal who could act as the order's "governor, protector, and corrector." The rest of this directive stresses that the cardinal protector's primary duties were to ensure the order's orthodoxy, its submission to the Church, and its fidelity to the *Rule*.¹⁰ Even though the founder told the friars that the cardinal protector's responsibilities included monitoring the friars' adherence to proper Catholic observance, he did not elaborate upon what he meant by the terms "governor," "protector," and "corrector."

Although Francis does not elucidate in the *Testament* his rationale for asking for a cardinal protector, he does shed some light on his ideas about the cardinal protector's responsibilities. In this text, he advises his followers to force into obedience any disobedient friars who try to alter the *Rule*, either by adding or deleting words, so as to change the meaning of what had been written.¹¹ He also instructs the order's hierarchy to bind these

¹⁰ *Regula bullata*, 237. "Ad haec per obedientiam iniungo ministris, ut petant a domino papa unum de sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae cardinalibus, qui sit gubernator, protector et corrector istius fraternitatis, ut semper subditi et subiecti pedibus eiusdem sanctae Ecclesiae stabiles in fide catholica paupertatem et humilitatem et sanctum evangelium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quod firmiter promissimus, observemus." Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9.

¹¹ *Testamentum*, 315. "Et generalis minister et omnes alii ministri et custodes per obedientiam teneantur, in istis verbis non addere vel minuere." Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

disobedient friars and to deliver them to the cardinal protector, who can then examine and reprimand them.¹² In this way, the *Testament* suggests a distinct danger to the souls of those friars who thought to minimize, change, or avoid the *Rule*'s rigor. Moreover, although Francis fails to clarify exactly what the terms “governor,” “protector,” and “corrector” meant to him, the *Testament* suggests specific ideas with respect to the maintenance of the friars' orthodoxy by reinforcing the observance of proper behaviors, by defending the order from detractors, and by correcting the friars should they err in belief or action. Consequently, the founder's writings suggest that he wanted someone in the curia who could reinforce proper Catholic beliefs and practices with the order's members and defend the *Rule* from those friars who wanted to change it and its meaning.

This ambiguity found in Francis' writings is reflected in other early to mid thirteenth-century texts, and an examination of the language in them indicates that the appointment of the cardinal protector was effectively an official designation for an informal relationship. In fact, while the texts suggest different roles for the cardinal protector, they do not employ an exact title or even similar terminology to refer to the post. For example, Francis asks in the *Rule of 1223* for a cardinal to act as “a governor, a protector, and a corrector.”¹³ Meanwhile, Thomas of Celano employs two different descriptions of Hugolino in his *legenda*. For

¹² *Testamentum*, 314–15. “Et custos firmiter teneatur per obedientiam ipsum fortiter custodire, sicuti hominem in vinculis die noctuque, ita quod non possit eripi de manibus suis, donec propria sua persona ipsum repraesentet in manibus sui ministri. Et minister firmiter teneatur per obedientiam mittendi ipsum per tales fratres, quod die noctuque custodiant ipsum sicuti hominem in vinculis, donec repraesentent ipsum coram domino Ostiensi, qui est dominus, protector et corrector totius fraternitatis.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

¹³ *Testamentum*, 314–5. “Et minister firmiter teneatur per obedientiam mittendi ipsum per tales fratres, quod die noctuque custodiant ipsum sicuti hominem in vinculis, donec repraesentent ipsum coram domino Ostiensi, qui est dominus, protector et corrector totius fraternitatis.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 133, 273–4.

instance, he portrays the cardinal in the *Life of Saint Francis* as a “father and lord”¹⁴ who could “extend his power over the order”¹⁵ and in the *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul* as a man who the friars could always approach “for the benefit of [the order’s] defense and his governance.”¹⁶ In a tone reminiscent of Francis’ *Testament*, John of Perugia’s *legendum* styles Hugolino as the order’s “governor and protector and corrector,”¹⁷ while the *Legend of the Three Companions* characterizes Hugolino as being “like a pope” for the order¹⁸ and that “as a good protector, he extended his hand toward defending the friars.”¹⁹ As for Jordan, he reports that Francis wanted a cardinal “who, when I have the need, I might speak to him, who can hear and discuss my and the order’s questions” in place of the pontiff.²⁰ In this way, these texts suggest that some of the uncertainty regarding the cardinal protector resulted from a lack of specificity regarding the cardinal’s actual title and duties. Indeed, this imprecision might have served to fuel more debate about the cardinal protector’s responsibilities.

Consequently, the early to mid thirteenth-century texts suggest that Francis’ conception of the role of the cardinal protector was either not well thought out or was not communicated effectively to others. While the founder’s writings do not provide enough information for us

¹⁴ 1 Celano, 76. “. . . patrem et dominum elegerat super universam religionem et ordinem fratrum suorum” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9.

¹⁵ 1 Celano, 77. “. . . suam illi super ordinem fratrum contulit potestatem” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9.

¹⁶ 2 Celano, 146. “. . . et ab eo tam defensionis quam gubernationis beneficia reportare.”

¹⁷ Perugia, 462. “. . . gubernator et protector et corrector”

¹⁸ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137–8. “. . . unum de cardinalibus romane Ecclesiae quasi in papam sui ordinis” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9.

¹⁹ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137–8. “. . . sicut bonus protector ad defendendum fratres manum extendit” Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 68–9.

²⁰ Jordan, 38–9. “Da unum, cui cum necesse habeo, loqui possim, qui vice tua causas meas et ordinis mei audiat et discuciat.”

to clarify how much thought he had put into his decision to have a cardinal protector, they do at least indicate that he failed to share his ideas with others in a manner that would have permitted them to acquire a full understanding of his wishes. It is within this framework that the friars had to discuss the role of the cardinal protector after Francis' death.

Protection from Enemies as Justification for the Cardinal Protector in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* and in the "We who were with him" Texts

Jordan suggests in the *Chronica* that the Friars Minor were occasionally attacked by critics who were hostile to the order, but he does not indicate that the cardinal protector ever intervened in these incidents. However, stories contained in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis* and the "We who were with him" texts indicate that one of the cardinal protector's duties was to defend the Franciscans from external enemies. Admittedly, scholarship with respect to the cardinal protector has often claimed that one of his primary functions was to shield the order from enemies. In 1893, Paul Sabatier argued that Francis needed the cardinal protector to defend the order from enemies in the papal curia,²¹ a claim that Grado Merlo maintained about 100 years later;²² however, most of the recent scholarship has repudiated such assertions.²³ Sometimes, though, scholars, such as Moorman²⁴ and Brooke,²⁵ restrict any claims as to the nature of Hugolino's activities as a protector to claims found in John of

²¹ Sabatier, *Vie de S. François*, 278; Boehmer, *Chronica fratris Jordani*, 14.

²² Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 33.

²³ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 66; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 136; Moorman, *The Sources for the Life of St Francis of Assisi* (Manchester, U.K.: Manchester University Press, 1940), 69; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 254–5.

²⁴ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 47.

²⁵ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 135–7.

Perugia's²⁶ text and in the *Legend of the Three Companions*²⁷ that he wrote to Church prelates after the failure of the 1219 missions. In this section, it is helpful to explore the manner in which Thomas defines the functions of the cardinal protector as a defender against political enemies, a position that collapses from lack of evidence when one looks at papal defenses of the Friars Minor. For this investigation of this topic, it is helpful to ask how early to mid thirteenth-century authors treat Cardinal John of Saint Paul (d. 1226), who acted unofficially as a protector of the order until his death;²⁸ how Thomas presents Hugolino as a friend and caretaker of the Franciscans; how papal documents adumbrate the roles of the pontiff and the cardinal protector in terms of safeguarding the Friars Minor; and the manner in which other texts present similar portrayals.

Although Hugolino looms large within narratives about the order's cardinal protectors, a few of the early *legenda* portray John of Saint Paul as an individual who particularly influenced the manner in which later cardinal protectors fulfilled the role. Interestingly, Thomas's *Life of Saint Francis*, John of Perugia's *legendum*, and the *Legend of the Three Companions* recount in only slightly different versions how John of Saint Paul met the friars when they arrived in Rome in 1209 to request an audience with Innocent III for approval of their *Praepositio*. For example, according to Thomas, John asks the friars many questions so as to satisfy his concerns regarding their orthodoxy.²⁹ Convinced that they adhere to Catholic

²⁶ Perugia, 463.

²⁷ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 140.

²⁸ Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 62; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 47; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 47; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 63; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 135; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 28–30; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 200–1, 229. Manselli notes that one can find informal precursors of the Cardinal Protector before the thirteenth century, but he does not provide examples or cite sources.

²⁹ 1 Celano, 26. "Verum quia homo erat providus et discretus, coepit eum de multis interrogare et, ut ad vitam monasticam seu eremiticam diverteret, suadebat." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

dogma, the cardinal volunteers to act as their representative in the papal curia.³⁰ For his part, John of Perugia describes John of Saint Paul as observing the friars³¹ in order to discern the quality of their orthodoxy. Pleased with what he sees, the cardinal offers to act as the founder's procurator in the papal court.³² Likewise, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* follow John of Perugia's narrative by presenting the cardinal as sufficiently content with everything that he sees and hears³³ that he offers himself as their procurator before the court.³⁴ Since John of Perugia and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* rely either on personal memory or the stories of someone who was present in Rome, their consensus concerning Thomas indicates that they consider the *Life of Saint Francis'* version to be fairly accurate or to contain uncontested views regarding his relationship with the Friars Minor. As a result, the authors indicate that John of Saint Paul's function as procurator was to ensure the friars' orthodoxy and to facilitate personal meetings between Francis and the pope.

Despite presenting John of Saint Paul's actions as a template for future cardinal protectors as guardians of orthodoxy and as facilitating contact with the papacy, these same

³⁰ I Celano, 26. "Mirabatur dominus ille fervorem ipsius, et timens ne a tanto proposito resiliret, ei planiora itinera ostendebat. Tandem eius constantiae victus precibus acquievit, et coram domino papa studuit eius negotia de caetero promovere." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

³¹ Perugia, 453. "Cum autem paucis diebus cum eo morati fuissent, et quod verbis de ipsis audiverat videret opere refulgere eos intime diligebat." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

³² Perugia, 453. "Tunc beatus Franciscus totum ei suum propositum revelavit et quod Domino Apostolico loqui volebat et de voluntate eius et praecepto prosequi quod agebat. Cui respondit: — 'Ego volo esse procurator vester in Curia domini Papae.'" Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

³³ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 125. "Paucis vero diebus morantes cum ipso, ita aedificaverunt eum sanctis sermonibus et exemplis, quod videns in opere fulgere quod de ipsis audierat, commendavit se eorum orationibus humiliter et devote, petivit etiam de gratia speciali quod volebat ex tunc sicut unus de fratribus reputari." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

³⁴ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 125–6 "Denique interrogans beatum Franciscum quare venisset, et audiens ab eo totum suum propositum et intentum, obtulit se procuratorem suum in curia." Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 62.

texts suggest that Hugolino added the function of defending the Friars Minor from enemies. For example, Thomas asserts that the official appointment of Hugolino as cardinal protector was the natural result of the cardinal's pastoral protection of a man and an order that fostered orthodoxy among the faithful. However, Thomas presents the process of acquiring Hugolino as a cardinal protector in a non-chronological manner so as to emphasize the relationship between the two men. This narrative structure also highlights three different aspects of Hugolino's role as cardinal protector: first as a procurator, second as a protector from political enemies, and third as a guiding hand in periods of transition of leadership within the order. In Thomas' story, Francis comes to Rome and asks his friend Hugolino if he can preach a sermon before Honorius and the papal curia.³⁵ Since Hugolino arranges the meeting, much as John of Saint Paul had done for Francis earlier,³⁶ this portion of the narrative thereby equates Hugolino with John of Saint Paul as another informal procurator who can expedite meetings between Francis and the pontiff.

In the next scene containing Hugolino and Francis, Thomas depicts the cardinal as defending the Friars Minor from political enemies and not from errors in the friars' orthodoxy. Indeed, having established a relationship between Francis and Hugolino, Thomas moves the narrative backward in time to recount how the two men met in Florence. According to this tale, the founder is travelling toward France, where he intends to go on mission. While in Florence, he goes to Hugolino to request permission to preach publicly to the laity. Upon witnessing Francis' dedication to orthodoxy, the cardinal conceives a deep

³⁵ 1 Celano, 54. "Sed et cum tempore quodam, causa religionis poscente, ad urbem Romam venisset, loqui coram domino papa Honorio et venerabilibus cardinalibus plurimum sitiebat." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74, 238.

³⁶ 1 Celano, 54–56. "Verum venerabilis dominus episcopus Ostiensis timore suspensus erat, totis visceribus orans ad Dominum, ne beati viri contemneretur simplicitas, quoniam in eum sancti gloria resultabat et dedecus, eo quod erat pater *super eius familiam constitutus*." Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 201–2, 229–30; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 63.

admiration for the friar. Indeed, he is so impressed that he informally offers to protect Francis and advises the founder to remain in Italy, where he can more ably care for the order.³⁷ While Thomas neglects to state who it is that threatens the Franciscans, the counsel to remain in Italy suggests that political opponents exist close to Assisi or Rome.

The only other text that shares this story is the “We who were with him” narratives; however, its authors only relate the scene of Francis and Hugolino meeting in Florence—possibly having gleaned this tale from the *Life of Saint Francis*. These authors augment Thomas’ imprecise allusion to the existence of opponents in Italy to include the specific detail that Francis had enemies in the papal curia itself.³⁸ However, the “We who were with him” texts decline to suggest that such a problem requires a cardinal protector and instead state that Francis’ presence in Italy would prove sufficient to thwart such opponents.³⁹ Although the “We who were with him” texts mention Hugolino at several points in his capacity as the cardinal protector, these passages do not discuss how or why Francis wanted the cardinal to be formally appointed to safeguard the order or what kind of protection this appointment entailed. Instead, these scenes portray how Francis responds to Hugolino’s

³⁷ I Celano, 56. “Quem cum cerneret supra caeteros terrena omnia contemnentem et illo igne ferventem, quem Iesus misit in terram, anima sua ex tunc animae illius conglutinata est, devote ipsius petens orationem et gratissime suam ei offerens in omnibus protectionem. Monuit proinde ipsum coeptum non perficere iter, sed ad curam et custodiam eorum quos Dominus Deus sibi commiserat, sollicitate vigilare.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 59–60, 227–8; Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 70; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 196–201, 233; Brooke, “La prima espansione francescana in Europa,” 132.

³⁸ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 338. “Ut autem audivi a beato Francisco quod volebat ire in Frantiam, prohibuit sibi ut non iret, dicens ad eum: ‘Frater, nolo quod vadas ultra montes, quoniam multi prelati sunt et alii qui liberenter impedirent bona tue religionis in curia Romana.’”

³⁹ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 338. “Ego autem et alii cardinales, qui diligimus tuam religionem, libentius protegemus et adiuvamus isпам, si manseris in circuitu istius provincie.” Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 196–201, 233.

suggestion that the order adopt a monastic rule;⁴⁰ how Francis and Dominic of Osma (1170–1221), the founder of the Dominican order, are the cardinal’s guests;⁴¹ how the cardinal learns that Francis conceived of the Portiuncula as a place where the most devout friars would live and serve as examples for the rest of the order;⁴² how Hugolino asks Francis to accept medical help;⁴³ how Francis begs for food even though he was Hugolino’s guest;⁴⁴ and how Hugolino gives Francis permission to visit Cardinal Leo of Santa Croce, in whose house the founder is beaten by demons.⁴⁵

The early to mid thirteenth-century texts, however, do not support this suggestion of political enemies in the papal curia. This indication of conflict between the friars and the curia found some traction in the nineteenth century when Paul Sabatier read these accounts literally;⁴⁶ however, later scholars discount any suggestions of tension between the two

⁴⁰ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 54–8. “. . . quod sequeretur consilia dictorum fratrum sapientium et permetteret se interdum duci ab eis, allegantes regulam beati Benedicti, beati Augustini et beati Bernardi, que docent sic et sic ordinate vivere. Tunc beatus Franciscus, audita monitione Cardinalis super hoc”

⁴¹ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 104–8. “In Urbe cum domino Hostiense, qui postea summus pontifex fuit, clara illa luminaria orbis aderant videlicet sanctus Franciscus et sanctus Dominicus.”

⁴² *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 202–8. “Unde dominus papa Gregorius, cum esset episcopus Hostiensis et veniret ad locum fratrum apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula, intravit domum fratrum et ivit ad videndum dormitorium fratrum, quod erat in eadem domo, cum multis militibus et monachis et aliis clericis, qui venerant secum.”

⁴³ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 230. “Videns episcopus Hostiensis, qui postea fuit apostolicus, quod beatus Franciscus ita fuisset et esset suo corpori semper austerus et maxime quia lumen oculorum amitti iam ceperat nolens inde facere se curari, amonuit ipsum cum pietate multa et sui compassione”

⁴⁴ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 284. “Ymo quodam tempore cum visitaret dominum episcopum Hostiensem qui postea fuit papa, in hora conestionis quasi furtive propter dominum episcopum ivit pro helemosinis, et cum reversus fuit dominus episcopus sedebat ad mensam et commedebat, maxime quia tunc invitaverat quasdam milites suos consanguineos ad comedendum. Beatus Franciscus posuit helemosinas super mensam domini episcopi et intravit ad mensam iuxta dominum episcopum, quoniam dominus episcopus semper volebat quod, cum beatus Franciscus esset apud ipsum in hora conestionis, sederet iuxta ipsum”

⁴⁵ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 364. “Quodam tempore beatus Franciscus iverat Romam ad visitandum dominum Ugonem, episcopum Hostiensem, qui postea fuit papa, et mansit cum eo per aliquot dies, et licentiatus ab eo apostolico, visitavit dominum Leonem, cardinalem sancte Crucis.”

⁴⁶ Sabatier, *La Vie de St. François d’Assise*, 228, 240–6.

groups.⁴⁷ In fact, most of the evidence that shows someone defending the order from political enemies postdates Thomas' *Life of Saint Francis*, and these texts indicate that it was the pontiff—not the cardinal protector—who undertook these actions. The earliest bull that provides protections was Honorius' *Fratrum Minorem continent* in 1223, as it directs prelates to enforce excommunication decrees pronounced by Franciscan ministers. The order's ministers needed such reinforcement, because it enabled them to coerce wayward friars back into obedience to the order.⁴⁸ Otherwise, the next bulls that defended a range of Franciscan practices and privileges were *Nimis iniqua*⁴⁹ and *Nimis prava*,⁵⁰ issued by Gregory in 1231. When prelates complained about Franciscan encroachments on episcopal rights and revenues, the pope promulgated these bulls to uphold privileges that the papacy had granted to the friars in earlier bulls: *Devotionis vestrae precibus* (1222), which permitted the clerical friars to say the Divine Offices and to celebrate the Mass in places where interdict was imposed,⁵¹ *Quia populares* (1224), which granted the friars the right to celebrate their own

⁴⁷ Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 5; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 204–5; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 46–7, 50–4; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 36–9. Manselli outlines the changes in scholarship regarding the possibility of tensions, while Moorman provides a narrative of Hugolino's activities for the benefit of the order and lists the problems that they faced, but he disregards Sabatier's suggestions of tensions between the friars and the papal court. For his part, Merlo omits the scholarship but indicates that Hugolino provided discipline for the Friars Minor.

⁴⁸ Honorius III, "Fratrum Minorem continent (1223)," 19. "... discedentes post professionem ab eis, praesertim excommunicatione notatos ab ipsis, evitetis omnino, quos etiam, cum ab eisdem Prioribus, et Custodibus fueritis requisiti, excommunicatos nuntiare curetis; ut cum se demum cognoverint inter homines vivere, ac humano carere solatio, ad Ordinem suum, reddendo Deo votum, quod in ejus susceptione devoverant, revertantur." Landini, *Clericalization*, 58.

⁴⁹ Gregory IX, "Nimis iniqua (1231)," in *BF*, 74–7. "Volunt namque contra Regulam a Sede Apostolica approbatam, et sui Ordinis instituta ipsis invitatis eorum consessiones audire, ac eis injungere poenitentias, et Eucharistiam exhibere." Landini, *Clericalization*, 61–2; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 152–3.

⁵⁰ Gregory IX, "Nimis prava (1231)," in *BF*, 74–5. "[N]ec his contenti Capitula, et scrutinia in locis Fratrum pro his corrigendis facturos se comminantur, fidelitatem juramento firmatam ab eorum Ministris, et Custodibus exigentes." Landini, *Clericalization*, 61–2; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 152–3.

⁵¹ Honorius III, "Devotionis vestrae precibus (1220)," in *BF*, 9. "Devotionis vestrae precibus inclinati, auctoritate vobis praesentium indulgemus, ut in Ecclesiis, si quas vobis habere contigerit, cum generale terrae fuerit

services;⁵² *Nuper nobis* (1225), which conceded to the friars canonical privileges, such as immunity from civil courts;⁵³ and *Licet Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia* (1227), which reaffirmed the privileges granted by Honorius.⁵⁴

Since Gregory was obviously well aware of the cardinal protector's authority and responsibilities, it is noteworthy that he handled these matters himself as pontiff instead of delegating them to the incumbent cardinal protector. This unwillingness to entrust this task to a cardinal protector suggests that defending the Friars Minor from political adversaries was the responsibility of the pontiff and not of the cardinal protector. Moreover, all that Gregory reports in the bull *Quo elongati* (1230) about his activities as cardinal protector, to which he refers as "a lesser position," was his aid in the writing and in the approval of the *Rule of 1223*.⁵⁵ Even though Gregory would be our best witness as to the role and duties of a cardinal protector, it is interesting that the only specifics he mentions are actions that no subsequent cardinal protector could duplicate. As a result, we see Gregory as pontiff—and not the cardinal protector—defending the friars from political enemies, thereby indicating that

interdictum, liceat vobis clausis januis, excommunicatis, et interdictis exclusis, submissa voce Divina Officia celebrare. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae Indulgentiae infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire." Landini, *Clericalization*, 58.

⁵² Honorius III, "Quia populares (1224)," in *BF*, 20. "Considerantes vobis negandum non esse, unde nemini derogatur; dum vera exposcit religio, ut quae sunt etiam de gratia speciali, vobis concedere debeamus; Devotioni vestrae, cum professi paupertatem sitis, pariter et amplexi, non temporale commodum, sed spirituale quaerentes; auctoritate praesentium vestris inclinati precibus indulgemus, ut in locis, et Oratoriis vestris cum Viatico Altari possitis Missarum solemnias, et alia divina Officia celebrare, omni Parochiali jure Parochialibus Ecclesiis reservato." Landini, *Clericalization*, 58, 60, 62, 87.

⁵³ Honorius III, "Nuper nobis (1225)," in *BF*, 21; Landini, *Clericalization*, 58.

⁵⁴ Gregory IX, "Licet Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia (1227)," in *BF*, 34. "Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae confirmationis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire." Landini, *Clericalization*, 60–1.

⁵⁵ Gregory IX, "Quo elongati (1230)," in *BF*, 68. "Et cum ex longa familiaritate, quam idem Confessor nobiscum habuit, plenius noverimus intentionem ipsius et in condendo praedictam Regulam, obtinendo confirmationem ipsius per Sedem Apostolicam sibi astiterimus, dum adhuc essemus in minori officio constituti; declarari similiter postulastis dubia, et obscura Regulae supradictae nec non super quibusdam difficilibus responderi." Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 60; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 77–8; Landini, *Clericalization*, 37, 60, 63, 78–9, 103, 111.

Gregory did not interpret the term “protector” from the *Rule of 1223* in terms of political opponents to the order.

In the last scene in the *Life of Saint Francis* involving Francis and Hugolino, Thomas describes the cardinal protector as someone who helps the order during a time of leadership transition when the order needed to select a new general minister. When Thomas shifts the narrative forward in time to papal legitimization of the cardinal protector, he recounts that the papal curia went to Rieti in 1225 to visit Francis, who was very ill. In this story, it is as the curia gathered around Francis that he formally asked Honorius to appoint Hugolino as cardinal protector of the Friars Minor.⁵⁶ With this request, Thomas suggests that Francis thought he would die from this illness and that the cardinal’s firm guidance would stabilize the Friars Minor until it had time to elect new leadership. With these three scenes, Thomas moves Hugolino from friendly advisor to official cardinal protector and a steward of the order. Since John of Perugia and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* do not corroborate these stories about Hugolino in the *Life of Saint Francis*, it is possible that Thomas was drawing upon a different collective memory from Francis’ companions. As will be discussed further below, John’s *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* offer very different versions, which indicates either that the companions’ stories regarding Francis and Hugolino were not available to Thomas or that he chose one collective memory tradition over another. In this regard, we might suggest that Thomas found greater meaning, in a story that placed tensions between the friars and unnamed individuals in Italy.

⁵⁶ 1 Celano, 76–9. “[S]anctus Franciscus accessit ad dominum papam Honorium, qui Romanae tunc praeerat Ecclesiae, supplici prece petens ab eo ut dominum Hugonem, episcopum Ostiensem, sui fratrumque suorum patrem et dominum ordinaret. Annuit dominus papa precibus sancti, et benigne obtemperans, suam illi super ordinem fratrum contulit potestatem.” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 76; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 64–5; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74, 238.

While there are intimations of tensions between the friars and prelates in the *Chronica*, Jordan never suggests that the cardinal protector helped the Friars Minor with external enemies. The most prominent of the Franciscans' antagonists in the *Chronica* were Siegfried, the archbishop of Mainz, and Frederick II, the German emperor. With regard to Siegfried, Jordan says no more than that the archbishop causes some problems for the Friars Minor,⁵⁷ which might have stemmed from Siegfried's interdict on the village of Erfurt.⁵⁸ With Frederick, though, Jordan tells us that the German emperor expels the friars from their houses, holds many as prisoners, and kills some. According to Jordan, Frederick performs these actions as retaliation for the Franciscans' complete obedience to the Church and for the friars' refusal to align with him during his military conflict with the pope.⁵⁹ In neither case does he indicate that the cardinal protector defends the friars or reconciles them with these antagonists.

As noted above, Thomas' depictions of events are based on collective memory and not on personal observation or written sources. For instance, Thomas writes that there is not a single person who remembers all of Francis' actions or teachings. As a result, he reports information that he acquired directly from the founder or from "trustworthy" witnesses. Despite writing that he learned things directly from Francis, Thomas also implies that he was

⁵⁷ Jordan, 62. Chapter 74: "Tunc temporis Sifridus maguntinensis archiepiscopus fratribus gravis fuit." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 179–80; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 150–61.

⁵⁸ Hermann, *XIIIth Century Chronicles*, 70.

⁵⁹ Jordan, 62. Chapter 73: "Illo autem tempore fratres per Fredericum ab imperio sentencialiter in concilio lugdunensi depositum valde vexati sunt et de locis suis in multis provinciis confusibiliter eiecti, multi detenti, aliqui eciam interfecti, quia mandatis ecclesie obedientes tamquam filii pie matri viriliter astiterunt, quod preter fratres minores nulli alii religiosi fecerunt."

not one of the founder's companions.⁶⁰ Although Thomas does not indicate which stories or teachings he learned from Francis, Jordan tells us that Thomas was part of the 1221 mission to Germany, which means that Thomas would have heard the founder preach at the general chapter at Assisi.⁶¹ Consequently, it is likely that the great majority of the *Life of Saint Francis* derived from the memory of individuals who had known the founder in some capacity or from collective memory around Assisi.⁶² In contrast, for *Remembrances of the Desire of a Soul* Thomas employed some of the same texts in which Francis' companions had recorded their memories⁶³ and which are found in the *Legend of the Three Companions* and the "We who were with him" materials.⁶⁴

Since these accounts result from collective memory, we can surmise that they reflect the period in which the texts were written and not events that actually occurred. For example, it is important to take note of the fact that Gregory requested that Thomas write the *Life of Saint Francis*.⁶⁵ As a result, it would make sense for Thomas to construct a close relationship between Francis and Hugolino so as to suggest that Gregory contributed to the founder's

⁶⁰ 1 Celano, 3. "Actus et vitam beatissimi patris nostri Francisci pia devotione, veritate semper praevia et magistra, seriatim cupiens enarrare, quia omnia quae fecit et docuit, nullorum ad plenum tenet memoria, ea saltem quae ex ipsius ore audiui, vel a fidelibus et probatis testibus intellexi, iubente domino et glorioso papa Gregorio, prout potui, verbis licet imperitis, studui explicare. Sed utinam eius merear esse discipulus, qui semper locutionum vitavit aenigmata et verborum phaleras ignoravit!"

⁶¹ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum fratribus Johanne de Plano Carpinis, predicatore in latino et lombardico, et Bamaba Theutonico predicatore egregio in lombardico et theutonico, et Thoma de Zelano qui legendam sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit . . ."

⁶² Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 5; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 13; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 163–4; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 39–44, 138.

⁶³ 2 Celano, 130. "Continet in primis hoc opusculum quaedam conversionis sancti Francisci facta mirifica, quae ideo in Legendis dudum de ipso confectis non fuerunt apposita, quoniam ad auctoris notitiam minime pervenerunt."

⁶⁴ Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 153–4; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 166–8.

⁶⁵ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 39, 138.

spiritual development leading towards the stigmata. Additionally, such a connection would serve to honor a pope who had served as the order's first cardinal protector. Furthermore, to suggest that Francis had petitioned the pope to appoint Hugolino in this position would indicate that the founder, recognized that Hugolino's piety was profound. As a highly religious man, Francis would prefer someone with these qualities to act as a liaison between the order and the papacy.

Thomas' reaction to later rejections of his presentation in the *Life of Saint Francis* regarding the relationship between the cardinal protector and the order can be seen in the *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*, since he offers a very different version of events. In this later account, Thomas omits any mention of Hugolino arranging an audience with the pope for the purpose of delivering a sermon to the curia. Instead, he writes that the papal curia receives Francis kindly and that the founder and the pope speak privately after the sermon.⁶⁶ During this conversation, Francis asks Honorius to appoint Hugolino as the order's official cardinal protector and cites the pope's inability to defend or to govern the Friars Minor, because the pontiff is busy ministering to the whole world.⁶⁷ In this context, Thomas indicates that Francis recognizes that the pope is a busy man, too busy to look after the Franciscans, and that the founder wants someone in the curia to watch over the order in the pontiff's place. Thomas does not establish a prior relationship between the founder and Hugolino and omits any mention of tensions between the friars and the papal curia. More

⁶⁶ 2 Celano, 145–6. “Praedicatione finita, paucisque familiari collatione cum domino papa praemissis.”

⁶⁷ 2 Celano, 146. “[T]andem sic ipsum petendo alloquitur: ‘Ad maiestatem tantam pauperibus et despectis viris de facili, domine, ut nostis, non datur accessus. Orbem quidem tenetis in manibus, nec minimis intendere praegrandum rerum negotia sinunt. Propter quod,’ ait, ‘domine, a vestrae sanctitatis visceribus postulo hunc dominum Ostiensem nobis pro papa concedi, ut salva semper vestrae praeeminentiae dignitate, possint fratres ad eum *tempore necessitates* recurrere, et ab eo tam defensionis quam gubernationis beneficia reportare.’” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74, 238.

importantly, though, he fails to identify any reasoning in the founder's request other than that he wanted someone who could devote more attention to the order than the pope was capable of giving.

In this way, Thomas' suggestion in the *Life of Saint Francis* of tension between the Franciscans and external enemies seems to serve two purposes. The first is as a plot device to explain why Francis did not complete his journey to France. Another is to signify the tension between the friars and a few bishops over privileges, as noted in papal bulls that Honorius granted to the friars, *Devotionis vestrae precibus* (1222),⁶⁸ *Fratrum Minorem continent* (1223),⁶⁹ *Quia populares* (1224),⁷⁰ *Nuper nobis* (1225),⁷¹ and *Licet Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia* (1227),⁷² and which Gregory reaffirmed, *Nimis iniqua* and *Nimis prava* (1231).⁷³ Since the purpose of the *Life of Saint Francis* was to promote the new saint, the stigmata, and the basilica at Assisi, Thomas likely worked to avoid controversies and to downplay tensions between the Franciscans and other groups. Since these bishops felt that the privileges encroached on the lay clergy's rights and privileges to perform these same sacramental and ritual functions, revisiting such conflicts in the *Life of Saint Francis* would have served to aggravate any potential friction.

The Failure of the 1219 Missions as Against the Italian Lay Friars' Disobedience as

⁶⁸ Honorius III, "Devotionis vestrae precibus (1220)," 9; Landini, *Clericalization*, 58.

⁶⁹ Honorius III, "Fratrum Minorem continent (1223)," 19; Landini, *Clericalization*, 58.

⁷⁰ Honorius III, "Quia populares (1224)," 20; Landini, *Clericalization*, 58, 60, 62, 87.

⁷¹ Honorius III, "Nuper nobis (1225)," in *BF*, 21.

⁷² Gregory IX, "Licet Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia (1227)," 34; Landini, *Clericalization*, 61–2.

⁷³ Gregory IX, "Nimis iniqua (1231)," 74–7; Gregory IX, "Nimis prava (1231)," 74–5; Landini, *Clericalization*, 61–2.

Justifications for the Cardinal Protector

While John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan situate Francis' request for a cardinal protector within events related to missions in 1219/1220, they disagree as to the specific details of this contextualization. For instance, John⁷⁴ and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*⁷⁵ write that the failure of the missions to Germany and Hungary spurred his request. Meanwhile, Jordan places Francis' request for a cardinal protector within the context of the troubles in Italy during the founder's mission to Egypt.⁷⁶ Since these three authors reject Thomas of Celano's assertion that Francis asked for a cardinal protector as a result of conflict with external enemies, it is helpful to look at how they employ internal tensions within the Friars Minor in order to explore elements of Franciscan identity. In this section, it is suggested that John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan's *Chronica* construct different rationales for the cardinal protector in response to debates concerning the clericalization of the order in Italy and in Germany. Indeed, John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* contend that Francis requested Hugolino as cardinal protector specifically to alleviate problems experienced by the 1219 missions beyond the Alps, a claim that Jordan's *Chronica* effectively dismisses by attributing the need for a cardinal protector to difficulties caused by friars in Italy during Francis' mission to Egypt.

Modern scholarship tends to be uncertain regarding the role of events that occurred in 1219 and 1220 in the order's acquisition of a cardinal protector. Much of this disagreement

⁷⁴ Perugia, 461–3.

⁷⁵ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 136–41.

⁷⁶ Jordan, 37–9. Chapters 11–14.

seems to stem from the conflicting accounts found in these three thirteenth-century texts. For instance, some scholars, such as Grado Merlo, accept Jordan's account of problems in Italy—difficulties that occurred during Francis' mission to Egypt—as the primary cause of the founder's request for a cardinal protector.⁷⁷ While Hugh Lawrence follows Jordan's description of events, he nonetheless expresses uncertainty as to whether Elias (one of Francis' closest and most trusted companions) or Hugolino helped the friars to learn from the problems experienced during the 1219 missions and to employ methods that served to minimize friction with non-Italian peoples.⁷⁸ Other scholars, such as Raoul Manselli, blend the stories found in the *Life of Saint Francis*, John's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, the “We who were with him” texts, and Jordan's *Chronica* to create a unified narrative regarding how Francis requested Hugolino as the order's cardinal protector. However, for the founder's motivation, Manselli depends on Jordan's account about disorder in Italy—events that occurred while the 1219 missions were still in train.⁷⁹ In contrast, Augustine Thompson argues that the office of cardinal protector was not created until 1223, well after the failure of the 1219 missions and the success of the 1221 mission, thereby suggesting that the failure of these missions had little effect on Francis' desire for the order to have a cardinal protector.⁸⁰ To explore this topic, it is useful to ask how far mid thirteenth-century texts agree with Thomas of Celano's portrayal of the designation of an official cardinal protector, how these later texts characterized this designation, and whether the cardinal protector safeguarded the friars from nobles and prelates.

⁷⁷ Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 35–9.

⁷⁸ Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 44–6; Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, 151.

⁷⁹ Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 227.

⁸⁰ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 228.

While the “We who were with him” texts agree with Thomas’ description of events about, and the reasoning behind, the designation of an official cardinal protector, John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan provide two seemingly unrelated accounts. Even though John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* based their works on Book One of the *Life of Saint Francis*, which would suggest the likelihood of a close correlation, they omit Thomas’ stories about Hugolino. More interestingly, even though Jordan demonstrates his awareness of both of Thomas’ works⁸¹ and shows that he had a close friendship with Thomas,⁸² he nonetheless ignores his friend’s characterizations of events related to Hugolino. Instead, Jordan appears to be in dialogue with the versions of events as recorded in John’s *legendum* and in the *Legend of the Three Companions*, even though, as discussed in Chapter 3, he does not seem to have encountered these texts directly.⁸³

Both John’s *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* explain Francis’ request for a cardinal protector by contending that the failure of the 1219 missions revealed the order’s need for someone who could act on the behalf of the Friars Minor with papal authority to smooth the order’s expansion beyond Italy. Thus, John relates that the friars were accepted in some provinces even if they were not permitted to build convents. However, they found themselves expelled from other provinces, where the local people felt uncertain about the missionaries’ orthodoxy. Because of this apprehension, the friars on mission to Germany and Hungary suffered tribulations and returned to Italy with low morale. In his story, John

⁸¹ Jordan, 34, 43. Chapter 1: “Et quia de modo conversionis eius satis in legenda declarator, hic supersedemus.” Chapter 19: “. . . et Thoma de Zelano qui legendam sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit”

⁸² Jordan, 58. Chapter 59. “Frater vero Jordanus in Theutonium rediens venit ad fratrem Thomam de Selano; qui gavisus dedit ei de reliquiis beati Francisci.”

⁸³ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 104–9, 147–9.

suggests that local people felt uncertain about the friars' faith because the pope had yet to approve a *Rule*.⁸⁴ The authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* follow John's outline in their tale about the 1219 missions but change a few details. For instance, they add that Innocent had confirmed the order and their *Rule*, but had not done so in writing.⁸⁵ These details suggest that the authors want to remind their readers about the *Praepositio*, to which Innocent III gave his verbal—and therefore informal—approval.

The authors of these two sources then introduce Hugolino acting in an unofficial capacity to help the Friars Minor. To allay the anxieties expressed by those non-Italians who were unaware of the Friars Minor and their devotion to Church orthodoxy, John writes that the cardinal uses his influence to help Francis compose a rule and to convince Honorius to confirm it.⁸⁶ In this way, Francis sees how hard Hugolino works to help the Friars Minor and recognizes the advantages of having a cardinal who can help the order when it runs into difficulties. As a result, Francis petitions Honorius to appoint Hugolino officially as the

⁸⁴ Perugia, 462. "In quibusdam provinciis recipiebantur, sed in eis aedificare habitacula nullatenus sinebantur. A quibusdam vero expellebantur, quia timebant ne fratres non essent Christiani fideles, quia adhuc non habebant fratres confirmatam a Papa Regulam, sed concessam. Et propterea multas tribulationes passi a clericis et laicis, et a latronibus spoliati, reversi sunt ad beatum Franciscum, angustiat plurimum et afflicti. Et hae tribulationes eis factae fuerunt in Hungaria et Almania et aliis provinciis ultramontanis." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 91–3; Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan*, 9–10.

⁸⁵ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137. "Qui recipiebantur in quibusdam provinciis sed non mittebantur habitacula construere, de quibusdam vero expellebantur ne forte essent homines infideles, quia licet praefatus dominus Innocentius tertius ordinem et regulam approbasset ipsorum, non tamen hoc suis litteris confirmavit, et propterea fratres a clericis et laicis tribulationes plurimas sunt perpassi. Unde ex hoc compulsi sunt fratres fugere de diversis provinciis, atque sic angustiat et afflicti necnon a latronibus exspoliati et verberati, ad beatum Franciscum cum magna amaritudine sunt reversi. Hoc enim passi errant quasi in omnibus ultramontanis partibus ut in Alemania, Ungaria et pluribus aliis." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74–5, 238.

⁸⁶ Perugia, 462. "Notificaverunt autem haec fratres dicto Cardinali domino Ostiensi. Qui, vocato ad se beato Francisco, duxit eum ad dominum Papam Honorium quoniam dominus Innocentius fuerat iam defunctus, et fecit scribi sibi aliam Regulam et confirmari, et dicti Papae sigilli munime roborari." *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137. "Quod cum notificatum fuisset dicto domino cardinali, vocavit ad se beatum Franciscum et duxit eum ad dominum papam Honorium, domino Innocentio iam defuncto. Et aliam regulam, a beato Francisco Christo docente compositam, fecit per eundem dominum Honorium cum bulla pendente solemniter confirmari." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8.

order's cardinal protector.⁸⁷ Once installed in this position, Hugolino supplies letters for future missions so as to introduce the Franciscans to nobles and bishops beyond the Alps and to guarantee the friars' orthodoxy.⁸⁸ The *Legend of the Three Companions* varies little from this version of events, except to indicate that Hugolino conducts the founder to the Roman court, where the cardinal arranges to have a new *Rule* written and confirmed.⁸⁹ Pleased with Hugolino's effectiveness, Francis asks Honorius to appoint a cardinal for the order to help the friars in their affairs.⁹⁰ After this, the authors deviate somewhat from John's *legendum* to include a narrative about a dream that Francis had experienced. When the authors return to the main tale, they repeat how the founder asks for a cardinal, but phrase it differently. This time, they assert that Francis is concerned that the pope is too busy to worry about the friars and their problems. As a result, he asks Honorius to appoint Hugolino, the bishop of Ostia, to

⁸⁷ Perugia, 462. "Et petiit beatus Franciscus a domino Papa unum de Cardinalibus, qui esset istius Religionis gubernator et protector et corrector, sicut in eadem *Regula* continetur. Et concessit eis dictum Dominum Ostiensem." *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137–8. "Proposuit autem beatus Franciscus petere a dicto domino papa Honorio unum de cardinalibus romanae Ecclesiae quasi in papam sui ordinis, videlicet praefatum dominum Ostiensem, ad quem fratres possent recurrere pro suis negotiis." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 74, 227–8, 238.

⁸⁸ Perugia, 461–3. "Post hoc, habito domini Papae mandato, extendens manum suam ad protegendum fratres Dominus Ostiensis misit multis Praelatis litteras apud quos fratres tribulationes passi fuerant, ut non essent fratribus contrarii, sed potius ad praedicandum et habitandum in suis provinciis consilium et auxilium eis darent, tamquam bonis et religiosis viris ab Ecclesia approbatis. *Legenda trium sociorum*, 140. "Qui, habito domini papae mandato, sicut bonus protector ad defendendum fratres manum extendit, scribens multis praelatis qui persecutiones intulerant fratribus ne ulterius essent eis contrarii, sed potius ad praedicandum et habitandum in suis provinciis consilium et auxilium eis darent, tamquam bonis et sanctis religiosis, auctoritate Sedis apostolicae approbatis." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 60–1, 227–8; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 44.

⁸⁹ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137. "Quod cum notificatum fuisset dicto domino cardinali, vocavit ad se beatum Franciscum et duxit eum ad dominum papam Honorium, domino Innocentio iam defuncto. Et aliam regulam, a beato Francisco Christo docente compositam, fecit per eundem dominum Honorium cum bulla pendente solemniter confirmari. In qua regula proluntatus est terminus capituli propter vitandum laborem fratrum qui in remotis partibus commorantur."

⁹⁰ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137–8. "Proposuit autem beatus Franciscus petere a dicto domino papa Honorio unum de cardinalibus romanae Ecclesiae quasi in papam sui ordinis, videlicet praefatum dominum Ostiensem, ad quem fratres possent recurrere pro suis negotiis."

act in the pope's place.⁹¹

It is important to note that the authors of these two *legenda* seem to rely on collective memory for these narratives rather than on personal memory, and so it would appear that these stories reflect tensions within the order rather than actual events. If these narratives had derived from personal memory, they would more likely have included greater amounts of private information that would illustrate the authors' participation in or observation of these events; however, the prose is completely impersonal and distant in tone. By means of this collective memory, the authors develop a version of events that indicates friction between the friars and the peoples that they intended to evangelize, and they focus on those worldly matters that a cardinal with quasi-papal authority could readily resolve on the pope's behalf. Although the *legenda* authors refuse to accuse any non-Franciscan individuals or groups of malicious intent against the Friars Minor, they appear to apportion responsibility for the misunderstanding between the friars and non-Franciscan laity to Francis and the order's hierarchy for not having taken the necessary steps in 1219 to reassure their hosts about the friars' orthodoxy. Moreover, by assigning liability to Francis, the authors further underscore that the founder needed Hugolino's help so as to compose a *Rule* that would pass muster with the pontiff and to write letters to reassure people beyond the Alps about the friars' orthodoxy.

While the authors do not specify which *Rule*, Jacques Le Goff argues that Hugolino helped

⁹¹ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 139–40. “Postea dixit beatus Franciscus summo pontifici: ‘Domine, compatio vobis super sollicitudine et labore continuo quo vos oportet pro Dei ecclesia vigilare, multumque verecundor quod pro nobis fratribus minoribus tantam curam et sollicitudinem habeatis. Cum enim multi nobiles et divites ac religiosi quamplurimi ad vos intrare non possint, magnus timor et verecundia debet esse nobis qui sumus magis pauperes et despecti ceteris religiosis, non solum ingredi ad vos, sed etiam stare ante ostium vestrum et praesumere pulsare tabernaculum virtutis christianorum. Propterea, Sanctitati vestrae supplico humiliter et devote quatenus hunc dominum Ostiensem nobis dignemini pro papa concedere, ut ad eum tempore necessitates possint fratres recurrere, salva semper vestrae praeminentiae dignitate.” See 2 Celano, 146. Thomas of Celano repeats this detail in his *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*.

in the composition of both *Rules*.⁹² For his part, Thompson states that Hugolino had little to nothing to do with the Friars Minor until 1223, and so it is very unlikely that the cardinal played any part in the *Rule of 1221*'s composition.⁹³ Brooke asserts that the *Rule of 1221* was an agglomeration of instructions that the friars had collected over the years, and this method of composition indicates that it was an ad hoc and communal effort.⁹⁴ This view has a lot to commend it. The need for a cardinal protector came down to helping a fallible Francis handle administrative work that was necessary for the order to function properly and smoothly as it expanded beyond central and northern Italy.

Although John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* do not explicitly evoke clericalization in their stories, for example by specifying the lay or clerical status of the friars who went on the 1219 missions, they do so implicitly by the manner in which they contextualize the narratives. For example, both texts say in very much the same language that Francis had founded the order eleven years before, that many men had joined the Friars Minor, and that they had elected ministers who sent friars throughout the world. It is the supplying of this background information with reference to the timing of the missions, the increased size of the order, and its institution of a hierarchy capable of coordinating the order's expansion⁹⁵ that implies that the missions consisted of or included clerical friars. In

⁹² Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 71–3.

⁹³ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 92–109, 228, 230, 249–60.

⁹⁴ Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 127, 135.

⁹⁵ *Perugia*, 461–2. “Expletis autem annis XI ab inceptione Religionis et multiplicato fratrum numero, electi fuerunt Ministri et missi cum aliquantis fratribus quasi per universas mundi provincias, ubi fides catholica colebatur.” *Legenda trium sociorum*, 136–7. “Expletis itaque undecim annis ab inceptione religionis et multiplicatis numero et merito fratribus, electi fuerunt ministri et missi cum aliquot fratribus quasi per universas mundi partibus in quibus fides catholica colitur et servatur.” Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 135–7; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43.

this way, the authors implicitly link clericalization with concerns over orthodoxy by suggesting that the missions consisted of clerics and then by describing how people outside of Italy doubted the orthodoxy of the members of the missions.

This connection has at least two implications. The first implication is that the laity in Italy were generally intimate with the Franciscans and knew their origins as primarily lay friars who practiced proper Christian orthodoxy. In fact, John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, who were advocates of simplicity, indicate in their texts that Francis' first lay followers convinced the Italian laity of their orthodoxy by embracing poverty and by refusing money. In one of these stories, the friars entered a town where they were unknown, and they begged for places to sleep. Since the laity suspected these strange men of being robbers, they were wary of inviting the lay friars into their homes. One woman, though, permitted the strangers to sleep on her porch. She began to believe their protestations of religious poverty the next morning when she found them praying in the church and refusing alms in the form of money.⁹⁶ In other words, these lay friars readily exhibited their orthodoxy through their appearance and their behavior. The second implication is that the German and Hungarian laity, in contrast, first came into contact with clerical friars and lay friars who were learning to become clerics. Because these friars did not appear to have embraced simplicity and poverty, the laity had reason to fear those who did not act like faithful

⁹⁶ Perugia, 447. "Considerans autem dicta mulier fratres denarios recusasse, accedens ad eos, dixit eis: — 'Christiani, si ad meum vultis redire hospitium, ego vos recipiam intra domum libenter.' Cui fratres humiliter responderunt: — '*Dominus retribuat tibi.*'" *Legenda trium sociorum*, 118–19. "Qui cum venisset ad fratres et vellet dare cuilibet eorum pecuniam sicut dabat aliis, recusaverunt illi pecuniam et accipere noluerunt. At ille dixit eis: 'Quare vos, cum sitis pauperes, non accipitis denarios sicut alii?' Respondit frater Bernardus: 'Verum est quod pauperes sumus, sed nobis non est ita gravis paupertas sicut aliis pauperibus: nam per Dei gratiam, cuius consilium implevimus, voluntarie pauperes facti sumus.'" Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 132.

Christians.⁹⁷ As a result, the more recent—more clerical—members of the order, who exhibited a relative attachment to worldly things and the desire for knowledge, needed a Rule to validate their orthodoxy.

For his part, Jordan counters the depiction provided by John of Perugia and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* and suggests that Hugolino's official appointment as cardinal protector resulted from problems with the order in the Italian provinces, which he characterizes as fraught with dissension and infighting. However, before discussing the events in Italy, Jordan recontextualizes the 1219 missions so as to remove them from consideration as a reason for the founder's request for a cardinal protector. While he agrees that the 1219 missions failed because of doubts regarding the friars' orthodoxy,⁹⁸ he makes clear that this suspicion derived from the fact that the missions were composed entirely of lay friars who were so ignorant that none of them could speak the local languages. As mentioned above, the friars led by John of Penna to Germany learned no more than that "Ja" means "Yes," and they inadvertently used this German word in reply when asked if these strange men were heretics from Lombardy who had come to infect Germany.⁹⁹ In Hungary, the friars

⁹⁷ Perugia, 462. "In quibusdam provinciis recipiebantur, sed in eis aedificare habitacula nullatenus sinebantur. A quibusdam vero expellebantur, quia timebant ne fratres non essent Christiani fideles, quia adhuc non habebant fratres confirmatam a Papa Regulam, sed concessam. Et propterea multas tribulationes passi a clericis et laicis, et a latronibus spoliati, reversi sunt ad beatum Franciscum, angustiatum plurimum et afflictum. Et hae tribulationes eis factae fuerunt in Hungaria et Almania et aliis provinciis ultramontanis." *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137. "Qui recipiebantur in quibusdam provinciis sed non permittebantur habitacula construere, de quibusdam vero expellebantur ne forte essent homines infideles, quia licet praefatus dominus Innocentius tertius ordinem et regulam approbasset ipsorum, non tamen hoc suis litteris confirmavit, et propterea fratres a clericis et laicis tribulationes plurimas sunt perpassi."

⁹⁸ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "Hii cum partes Theutonice introissent et linguam ignorantes interrogati, si vellent hospitari, comedere vel huiusmodi, responderunt 'Ja' et sic a quibusdam benigne sunt recepti. Et videntes quod per hoc verbum 'ja' humane tractarentur, ad quolibet interrogata 'ja' debere respondere decreverunt. Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutoniam inficerent, sicut et Lombardiam pervertissent, et respondissent 'ja.'" Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 89–90, 227–8, 247–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 208; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 9–11, 136; Landini, *Clericalization*, 17–23, 35, 110; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8.

⁹⁹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: "Hii cum partes Theutonice introissent et linguam ignorantes interrogati, si vellent hospitari, comedere vel huiusmodi, responderunt 'Ja' et sic a quibusdam benigne sunt recepti. Et videntes quod per hoc

never seem to have learned any words, since they were constantly threatened by the laity and thereby kept themselves at a distance.¹⁰⁰ In this way, Jordan disconnects these missions from the process of clericalization. Furthermore, he turns the suggestions about doubtful orthodoxy back onto the advocates of simplicity with his explanation that the German and Hungarian laity's distrust about the friars' orthodoxy derived from the 1219 mission members' similarity to poor heretics in Lombardy and from their ignorance of language. Indeed, Jordan suggests that, in the eyes of the German laity, these ignorant lay friars were very similar to lay religious groups (such as the Waldensians, Humiliati, and Cathars) that pursued illegitimate versions of the *vita apostolica* and which the Church had labeled as heretics.¹⁰¹

Instead, Jordan says that the founder's decision to request a papally designated cardinal protector stemmed from problems caused by internal strife caused by lay friars within the order in Italy during Francis' mission to convert the sultan. In Jordan's version of events, before he left for Egypt, Francis placed the Italian provinces in the care of Matthew of Narni and Gregory of Naples as vicars.¹⁰² In the course of the founder's absence, these vicars added

verbum 'ia' humane tractarentur, ad quelibet interrogata 'ia' debere respondere decreverunt. Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutoniam inficerent, sicut et Lombardi am pervertissent, et respondissent 'ia.'” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 89–90, 227–8, 247–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 208; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 9–11, 136; Landini, *Clericalization*, 17–23, 35, 110; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8.

¹⁰⁰ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “Fratres vero in Ungariam missi per quendam episcopum Ungarie per mare in Ungariam sunt conducti et, cum divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspidibus sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 227–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 209; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43–4; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8.

¹⁰¹ Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 23–9, 94–7; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 15–25, 31–37, 43–4; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 9–11; Landini, *Clericalization*, 12, 17–23, 35, 110, 113; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 4–8; Merlo, *Nel nome di San Francesco*, 16–17; Brooke, “La prima espansione francescana in Europa,” 144.

¹⁰² Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “Beatus autem Franciscus cum beato Petro Cathanii, iuris perito et domino legum, mare transiens reliquit duos vicarios, fratrem Matheum de Narnio et fratrem Gregorium de Neapoli, Matheum vero instituit ad sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula, ut ibi manens recipiendos ad ordinem reciperet, Gregorium autem, ut

restrictions to the friars' dietary laws by further limiting when the Franciscans could eat meat or drink milk and by including extra fast days.¹⁰³ These changes angered many members, because they interpreted the vicars' actions as alterations to the *Rule*,¹⁰⁴ and these friars argued that Francis had written in the *Rule* that friars were forbidden to make any changes.¹⁰⁵ In fact, while this injunction is indeed in both the *Rule of 1221*¹⁰⁶ and the *Rule of 1223*,¹⁰⁷ the friars did not have a *Rule* at that point in time.

Interestingly, Jordan describes the friars who resisted these revisions as “certain old friars in Italy,”¹⁰⁸ which might be a reference to more of Francis' first followers and companions, given the manner in which Jordan readily indicates that Philip Longo and John acted contrary to Francis' desires despite their long and close association with him. Furthermore, Jordan

circuiendo Italiam fratres consolaretur.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 72–3, 227–8; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 29–31; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 227; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 15–37; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 35–6; Schmitt, “I Vicari dell'Ordine francescano,” 238–40, 243.

¹⁰³ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “Et quia secundum primam regulam fratres feria IV. et VI. et per licenciam beati Francisci feria secunda et sabato ieiunabant et omni carnali feria carnes comedebant, isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent. Et insuper statuerunt, ut feriam secundam ieiunarent cum aliis duobus diebus, et ut feria secunda et sabato sibi lacticinia non procurarent, sed ab eis abstinerent, nisi forte a devotis fidelibus offerrentur.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 29–31; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73, 236–7.

¹⁰⁴ Jordan, 37. Chapter 12: “Super quibus constitutionibus, eo quod presumpserant aliquid addere regule sancti patris, quidam frater laicus indignatus assumptis secum illis constitutionibus sine licentia vicariorum transfretavit.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 29–31; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 35–6.

¹⁰⁵ Jordan, 37. Chapter 12: “Et ad beatum Franciscum veniens inprimis culpam suam coram ipso dixit veniam petens super eo, quod ad ipsum sine licentia accessisset hac necessitate inductus, quod vicarii, quos reliquerat, super suam regulam novas leges adiicere presumpsissent.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 65, 146, 173, 363.

¹⁰⁶ *Regula non bullata*, 248. “Et liceat eis manducare de omnibus cibis, qui apponuntur eis, secundum evangelium.”

¹⁰⁷ *Regula bullata*, 230. “Et secundum sanctam Evangelium de omnibus cibis, qui apponuntur eis, liceat manducare.”

¹⁰⁸ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “. . . isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8.

implies that these dissenters were lay friars by saying that their representative was “a certain indignant lay friar” who delivered the news about the dietary modifications to Francis in Egypt.¹⁰⁹ Although Manselli interprets the *Chronica* as saying that the old friars encouraged Gregory and Matthew to make these modifications, Jordan merely says that the vicars dined with these men.¹¹⁰

As if this unrest over dietary problems were not enough, Jordan suggests further troubles. Through the prognostication of a prophetess, Jordan relates that one of Francis’ earliest companions, Philip Longo,¹¹¹ asked the pope to write letters that served to protect the Poor Clares from unnamed individuals. According to Jordan, though, these letters ran counter to the founder’s desires, since he wanted the friars to solve problems with recourse to humility and not through legal means including involving papal protection.¹¹² Although Jordan only lightly touches on tensions regarding how the Friars Minor were supposed to oversee and defend the Poor Clares, this topic was one of several that troubled the order during the thirteenth century.¹¹³ Moreover, Jordan describes John Conpella, another one of the founder’s early lay followers, as attempting to create a new order that was modeled after the Friars

¹⁰⁹ Jordan, 37. Chapter 12: “Super quibus constitutionibus, eo quod presumpserant aliquid addere regule sancti patris, quidam frater laicus indignatus assumptis secum illis constitutionibus sine licentia vicariorum transfretavit.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 64–5; Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 361; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 50. Moorman identifies the friar as Stephen of Narni.

¹¹⁰ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “[I]sti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt . . .” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8.

¹¹¹ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 13; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 46, 74–6.

¹¹² Jordan, 38. Chapter 13: “Nam frater Philippus, qui erat zelator dominarum pauperum, contra voluntatem beati Francisci, qui omnia per humilitatem maluit vincere quam per iudicii potestatem, impetravit litteras a sede apostolica, quibus dominas defenderet et turbatores earum excommunicaret.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73–4, 237–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 210, 229; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 36–7; Lezlie Knox, “Audacious Nuns: Institutionalizing the Franciscan Order of Saint Clare,” *Church History* 69:1 (Mar., 2000): 44–6.

¹¹³ Knox, “Audacious Nuns”: 41–62; Le Goff, *Saint Françoise d’Assise*, 65–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 145–192; Moorman, *The Franciscan Order*, 205–15; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 187–200; Schmitt, “I Vicari dell’Ordine francescano,” 238–40, 243.

Minor but was to be composed of lepers. To effect his plan, John even wrote a rule and appealed to the pope to confirm it.¹¹⁴ In this way, Jordan suggests a variety of disobedient undertakings on the part of the Italian friars, activities that are only reported in the *Chronica*.

According to Jordan, it is particularly the issues concerning Philip and John that prompt Francis to visit Honorius and to request Hugolino as a cardinal protector. As noted in Chapter 6, the scene in the *Chronica* shows Peter of Catania arguing that Francis was able to resolve all of these issues with reference to his own authority; however, Jordan recounts that the founder instead sought the backing of a cardinal protector to settle those matters—papal letters to protect the Poor Clares and the possible creation of a new order—that the disobedient lay friars had taken before the pontiff. Indeed, in language reminiscent of the *Legend of the Three Companions*¹¹⁵ and the *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*,¹¹⁶ Francis appeals to the pope to give him Hugolino, who can represent the pontiff in matters that involve the Friars Minor, since the pope is so busy with other affairs.¹¹⁷ With this matter

¹¹⁴ Jordan, 38. Chapter 13: “Similiter et frater Johannes de Capella collecta magna multitudine leprosorū et virorum et mulierum ordini se subtraxit et fundator novi ordinis esse voluit, regulam quandam conscripsit et pro ipsa confirmanda se cum suis sedi apostolice presentavit.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73–4, 237; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 30; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 229; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 36–7; Nachman Falbel, *The Spiritual Franciscans*, trans. Fiona O. Osborn (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Perspectiva, 2011), 28; Schmitt, “I Vicari dell’Ordine francescano,” 238–40, 243.

¹¹⁵ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 139–40. “Cum enim multi nobiles et divites ac religiosi quamplurimi ad vos intrare non possint, magnus timor et verecundia debet esse nobis qui sumus magis pauperes et despecti ceteris religiosis, non solum ingredi ad vos, sed etiam stare ante ostium vestrum et praesumere pulsare tabernaculum virtutis christianorum.”

¹¹⁶ 2 Celano, 146. “[T]andem sic ipsum petendo alloquitur: ‘Ad maiestatem tantam pauperibus et despectis viris de facili, domine, ut nostis non datur accessus. Orbem quidem tenetis in manibus, nec minimis intendere praegrandum rerum negoita sinunt.’”

¹¹⁷ Jordan, 38–9. Chapter 14: “Et beatus Franciscus: ‘Domine, cum sis magnus et magnis sepe prepeditus negotiis, pauperes ad te accessum habere non possunt nec tibi loqui, quociens hii necesse habent. Multos mihi papas dedisti. Da unum, cui cum necesse habeo, loqui possim, qui vice tua causas meas et ordinis mei audiat et discuciat.’ Ad quem papa: ‘Quem vis ut dem tibi, fili?’ Et ille: ‘Dominum Hostiensem.’ Et concessit.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73–4, 77–8, 228, 230, 234, 237–8, 241; Schmitt, “I Vicari dell’Ordine francescano,” 238, 244–6, 252–6, 258–9, 263.

settled, the founder tells Hugolino about the problems that beset the order, and the cardinal's responses are to rescind the papal letters requested by Philip and to dismiss John from the papal court.¹¹⁸ With this narrative, therefore, Jordan indicates that Philip and John transgressed the acceptable boundaries, though he is less forthright regarding Matthew and Gregory.

Even though Jordan is vague regarding the manner in which he handled Peter and Matthew's dietary changes, the language in the *Chronica* seems to suggest that Jordan uses the story to disparage Francis' lay companions. In fact, Jordan says nothing explicitly about the manner in which Francis rectifies the unrest over the dietary changes except to say that the founder "reformed the order following his own statutes,"¹¹⁹ and the most obvious imputation is that the founder sided against Matthew and Gregory, since the vicars changed dietary laws that Francis himself had put into place.¹²⁰ However, Jordan also describes Francis and Peter of Catania as being served meat when they learn about these changes and discussing how they should handle the situation.¹²¹ When the two men turn to their meal, the founder states that, "We should eat, then, according to the Gospel, that which is placed

¹¹⁸ Jordan, 39. Chapter 14: "Cum ergo beatus Franciscus domino Hostiensi pape suo causas turbacionis sue retulisset, litteras fratris Philippi in continenti revocavit, et frater Johannes cum suis cum verecundia a curia est repulsus." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73–4, 77–8, 228, 230, 234, 237–8, 241.

¹¹⁹ Jordan, 39. Chapter 15: "Et sic turbatoribus, domino favente, subito sedatis ordinem secundum sua statuta reformavit.

¹²⁰ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: "Et quia secundum primam regulam fratres feria IV. et VI. et per licenciam beati Francisci feria secunda et sabato ieiunabant et omni carnali feria carnes comedebant, isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent. Et insuper statuerunt, ut feriam secundam ieiunarent cum aliis duobus diebus, et ut feria secunda et sabato sibi lacticinia non procurarent, sed ab eis abstinerent, nisi forte a devotis fidelibus offerrentur." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8.

¹²¹ Jordan, 37–8. Chapter 12: "Constitutionibus ergo perlectis cum beatus Franciscus esset in mensa et carnes appositae ad manducandum coram se haberet"

before us,”¹²² a reference to Luke 10:8 (“And into what city soever you enter, and they receive you, eat such things as are set before you”). In this way, it is possible that Jordan is suggesting that the founder ruled against the vicars and instead imposed this biblical directive—which is repeated in both the *Rule of 1221*¹²³ and the *Rule of 1223*¹²⁴—on the order.

Even if Jordan insinuates that certain old lay friars won their battle with the order’s vicars over dietary modifications, he nonetheless subtly criticizes these same friars. Although his telling indicates that these friars were defending the regulations set down by Francis, it also shows them protesting against stricter regulations—not in opposition to more lax ones.¹²⁵ When placed alongside Jordan’s story about how the members—lay and clerical—of the 1221 mission to Germany survived on water, bread, and turnips during their journey through the Alps,¹²⁶ the Italian friars’ defense of the original dietary laws appears to be somewhat disingenuous. Moreover, these dietary modifications do not resemble any monastic observances, which generally prohibited members from consuming any meat. Instead, many

¹²² Jordan, 38. Chapter 12: “Et sic tandem beatus Franciscus intulit: ‘Comedamus ergo secundum ewangelium que nobis apponuntur.’”

¹²³ *Regula non bullata*, 248. “Et liceat eis manducare de omnibus cibis, qui apponuntur eis, secundum ewangelium.”

¹²⁴ *Regula bullata*, 230. “Et secundum sanctam Ewangelium de omnibus cibis, qui apponuntur eis, liceat manducare.”

¹²⁵ Jordan, 37. Chapter 11: “Et quia secundum primam regulam fratres feria IV. et VI. et per licenciam beati Francisci feria secunda et sabato ieiunabant et omni carnali feria carnes comedebant, isti vicarii cum quibusdam fratribus senioribus Italie unum capitulum celebrarunt, in quo statuerunt, ut fratres diebus carnalibus carnibus procuratis non uterentur, sed sponte a fidelibus oblatas manducarent. Et insuper statuerunt, ut feriam secundam ieiunarent cum aliis duobus diebus, et ut feria secunda et sabato sibi lactinia non procurarent, sed ab eis abstinerent, nisi forte a devotis fidelibus offerrentur.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 227–8.

¹²⁶ Jordan, 44. Chapter 21: “[V]enerunt Mittenwalde, ubi cum magna penuria de duabus buccellis et VII rapis malum famis misere et sitim gaudio cordis temperabant, immo pocius provocabant. Et collacione habita inter se, quomodo ventrem vacuum implere possent, ut post laborem VII miliariorum quietem noctis peragerent, decreverunt, ut de aqua puri fluentis pretereuntis biberent, ne venter vacuus murmuraret. Mane autem facto famelici et vacui surgentes ceptum carpebant iter.”

people in the thirteenth century considered it to be scandalous that the friars were permitted to eat meat at all,¹²⁷ and the suggestion that Francis' lay companions, who were largely advocates of simplicity, wanted even more lenient regulations in terms of eating meat indicates even greater cause for criticism. In this way, within the context of clericalization, Jordan subtly turns this diatribe against clerics in John's *legendum* and in the *Legend of the Three Companions* into a judgement on lay friars and advocates of simplicity.

Additionally, Jordan provides a different narrative for the process of writing the *Rule of 1221*, by saying that Caesar of Speyer, not Hugolino, aided Francis in its composition. John's *legendum* and the *Legend of the Three Companions* both state that Hugolino assisted Francis with the *Rule*'s composition soon after the failure of the 1219 missions¹²⁸ and that this occurred before the founder sent out new missions in 1221.¹²⁹ In the *Chronica*, Jordan recounts how Francis employed Caesar of Speyer's knowledge of Scripture to compose the *Rule of 1221*.¹³⁰ While this might seem to be a moot point, since both men were educated, it becomes meaningful within the context of clericalization. In this framework, advocates of

¹²⁷ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 73, 236–7.

¹²⁸ Perugia, 462. “Notificaverunt autem haec fratres dicto Cardinali domino Ostiensi. Qui, vocato ad se beato Francisco, duxit eum ad dominum Papam Honorium quoniam dominus Innocentius fuerat iam defunctus, et fecit scribi sibi aliam Regulam et confirmari, et dicti Papae sigilli munimine roborari.” *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137. “Quod cum notificatum fuisset dicto domino cardinali, vocavit ad se beatum Franciscum et duxit eum ad dominum papam Honorium, domino Innocentio iam defuncto. Et aliam regulam, a beato Francisco Christo docente compositam, fecit per eundem dominum Honorium cum bulla pendente solemniter confirmari.”

¹²⁹ Perugia, 463. “Et sic in alio Capitulo, data a beato Francisco licentia Ministris recipiendi fratres ad Ordinem, fratres in illis provinciis sunt remissi, portantes Regulam confirmatam et litteras, ut diximus, Cardinalis. Videntes itaque Praelati Regulam a Summo Pontifice confirmatam, Cardinali quoque Domino Ostiensi cum allis Cardinalibus bonum de fratribus testimonium perhibente, eis aedificare et habitare et praedicare in suis provinciis concesserunt.” *Legenda trium sociorum*, 140. “In sequenti ergo capitulo, data licentia ministris a beato Francisco recipiendi fratres ad ordinem, misit eos ad supradictas provincias portantes litteras cardinalium cum regula bulla apostolica confirmata.”

¹³⁰ Jordan, 39. Chapter 15: “Et videns beatus Franciscus fratrem Cesarium sacris litteris eruditum commisit sibi, ut regulam, quam ipse simplicibus verbis conceperat, verbis ewangelii adornaret.” Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 230–1; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 37–8.

simplicity would downplay or disparage the benefits of clerical education as exhibited by clerical friars. In order to avoid suggesting that clerics within the order were beneficial, John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* were more likely to use collective memory to shift help in composing the *Rule* to a learned individual outside of the Friars Minor. By contrast, Jordan wants to accentuate the contributions of educated friars to the workings of the order, and Caesar ably fulfills this function in the *Chronica*. By saying that Caesar helps Francis, Jordan more forcefully rejects the insinuations cast by advocates of simplicity in Italy.

Conclusion

Francis' ambiguities regarding his rationale for wanting a cardinal protector left a lot of space in which Franciscans such as Thomas of Celano, John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan could construct narratives from differing reservoirs of collective memory so as to explicate contrasting actions of Franciscan identity. However, it is interesting that John's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the *Chronica* collectively reject Thomas' assertion that the order needed protection from external political opponents and instead appeal to the 1219 missions and tribulations in Italy in 1220 as the pivotal events that attached meaning to Francis' request for a cardinal protector. Indeed, the manner in which Jordan's discussion of the cardinal protector appears to respond to the discourse in John's *legendum* and in the *Legend of the Three Companions* strongly suggests that these collective memory traditions were in dialogue with each other even as they disagreed over many of the details.

It is possible that John and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* rejected

Thomas' story because it did not advocate simplicity as well as did other narratives that were available within the order's collective memory. Similarly, Jordan likely declined to use Thomas' tale because it did not permit him to contradict those stories that advocated simplicity or to promote education in the manner that he wanted. Instead, he was able to borrow a contrasting narrative from the same collective memory that had been used by the Italian authors. In a sense, though, Jordan's narrative also returns the reader to Francis' principal concerns as he expressed them in the *Rule* and the *Testament*: obedience and strict adherence to the *Rule*. Consequently, Jordan's narrative conceives of the cardinal protector's duties as consisting of overseeing the order in order to ensure the friars' orthodoxy and orthopraxy.

CHAPTER 9: FRANCISCAN CLERICALIZATION AND EDUCATION: INTERCONNECTIONS WITH LANGUAGE

This is the last of four chapters devoted to the intersecting themes of clericalization and education. Since Chapter 6 focused on these themes in relation to simplicity, Chapter 7 to mission, and Chapter 8 to the reasons for appointing a cardinal protector, Chapter 9 explores how these themes influenced and were affected by the friars' abilities to speak two or more languages so as to communicate with the laity in lands far from Italy. This chapter engages with Jordan's narratives regarding the use of language on mission and suggests that the *Chronica* indicates a linkage between clericalization, education, and multilingualism, a connection that provides a unique insight into Franciscan mission in the early to mid thirteenth century. Since these stories in the *Chronica* are unique in early Franciscan texts, they delineate his experiences as to how the knowledge of two or more languages benefited those friars who expanded the order into a new region.

As discussed in Chapter 6, Jordan's account of Francis at Damietta underscores how the ability to communicate with speakers of a different language could open doors for the Friars Minor so that they could share the Gospel with the laity. After all, the power of one loan word, in this case the word "sultan," permitted Francis to gain entrance to the court and presence of the most powerful man in Egypt and the Levant. While Francis did not know Arabic, his access to the Sultan using this Arabic loan word into Italian illustrates the fact that knowledge of other languages, however minimal, was important to Franciscan mission.

While Jordan frequently indicates that the friars' ability to preach in a second tongue¹ constituted a decisive factor for the 1221 mission's success in the *Chronica*, he also suggests the importance of multilingualism for the practice of begging.²

Scholarship on the subject of the use of language within Franciscan mission, preaching or begging in the thirteenth century is rather limited. For example, some scholars (such as Raoul Manselli, John Moorman, Michael Robson, and Augustine Thompson) touch on the topics of Franciscan preaching and begging in order to form a narrative of the order's establishment and evolution; however, they tend to disregard the issue of language barriers with the exception of recounting Jordan's story about the failure of the 1219 mission to Germany.³ In a similar way, and also referring to the *Chronica*, Neslihan Şenocak notes that general minister John Parenti chose an English scholar from Paris to be the first lector in Germany, and she considers this appointment unusual since John the Englishman was likely unfamiliar with the German language. In her estimation, any of the friars in Germany would already know the local language and customs, factors that would have been lost on John.⁴ Otherwise, scholars refer to language in a manner like Jacques Le Goff, who mentions that the Friars Minor delivered their sermons in the vulgar language so that the laity could understand what was said.⁵

¹ Jordan, 35–7, 43–5. Chapters 5, 6, 10, 20, 23–4.

² Jordan, 45–6. Chapter 27.

³ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 54, 62–74; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 136–9; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 22–36; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 28, 38–9, 41, 43, 64–5, 108, 196–200, 211–12, 214–15; Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy*, 151.

⁴ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 55–6. See Jordan, 56. Chapter 56: “Anno domini 1229. frater Johannes Anglicus primus visitator in Theutonium est missus.”

⁵ Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 193–5; Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane : avant 1300* (Paris: H. Champion, 1976), 210–17; H. Leith Spencer, *English Preaching in the Late Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 85–113; Kienzle, “Medieval Sermons and their Performance,” 109–10; Bataillon, “Approaches to the study of

The problem addressed in this chapter is the manner in which Jordan touches on the relationships between begging, preaching, education, and clericalization and how they were complicated within Franciscan mission, where the ability to speak two or more languages became essential. In this chapter, it is suggested that Jordan indicates how the use of multilingual friars to conduct the 1221 mission to Germany improved the ability of the friars on the mission to expand into new regions, to preach to the laity, and to beg for alms. To explore this topic, it is helpful to ask how the friars' ignorance or knowledge of other languages affected the ability of a mission to expand into a new region, how it impacted the friars' ability to gain new converts through preaching, and how it impinged on their ability to acquire alms through begging.

Multilingualism in the 1219 and 1221 Missions

In the *Chronica*, Jordan indicates that the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary failed because of the Italian lay friars' ignorance of the local languages in these regions and that the 1221 mission to Germany succeeded in part because of the clerical friars' abilities to communicate in Latin and in German.⁶ Despite Jordan's suggestions as to the importance of multilingualism for preaching in missions to distant lands, much of the scholarship on preaching in the thirteenth century focuses on sermons, with particular consideration devoted to the manner in which preachers structured and transmitted their homilies. Recently, some of the scholarly emphasis has shifted to the attitudes and values that preachers wanted to

medieval sermons," in *La predication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie: Études et documents* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1993), I: 22–4; Bataillon, "La Predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale," in *La predication au XIIIe siècle en France et Italie: Études et documents* (Brookfield, Vermont: Ashgate Publishing Company, 1993), XII: 691–4.

⁶ Jordan, 35. Chapters 5, 6.

convey with their sermons. However, these investigations presuppose that the preacher and his audience were native speakers of the same tongue.⁷ While some scholars, such as Neslihan Şenocak and Bert Roest, explore more specifically the relationship between the order's establishment in university towns and the order's practices of hearing confessions and delivering sermons,⁸ these investigations do not delve into matters of learning or of preaching in a language other than Latin or a friar's native tongue. Otherwise, if scholars do relate the way in which ignorance of a language caused problems for the friars, it is in terms of Jordan's narrative of the 1219 mission to Germany.⁹ As discussed in Chapter 8, Jordan highlights the problems that derive from ignorance of the local language in his account of the 1219 mission, but it is instructive to look more closely at how he presents some friars' monolingualism versus other friars' multilingualism while on mission. To investigate this topic, it is useful to ask how early- to mid-thirteenth-century Franciscan texts dealt with the subject of multilingualism and how ignorance or knowledge of another language affected the 1219 and 1220 missions.

⁷ Nicole Bériou, "Conclusion: La Parole du prédicateur, objet d'histoire," in *La parole du prédicateur : Ve–XVe siècle*, eds. Rosa Maria Dessì and Michel Lauwers, Collection du Centre d'études médiévales de Nice 1, (Nice: Z'édicions, 1997), 479–88; Zink, *La prédication en langue romane*, 30–1, 34, 38, 55–9, 64–7, 74–7, 91–108, 118–27; Thompson, "From Texts to Preaching: Retrieving the Medieval Sermon as an Event," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Boston: Brill, 2002), 13–23; Phyllis Roberts, "The *Ars Praedicandi* and the Medieval Sermon," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Boston: Brill, 2002), 44–9; Kienzle, "Medieval Sermons," 91–2, 99–103, 105–9; Carolyn Muessig, "Audience and Preacher: *Ad Status* Sermons and Social Classification," in *Preacher, Sermon and Audience in the Middle Ages*, ed. Carolyn Muessig (Boston: Brill, 2002), 256–7; Robson, *Franciscans*, 22; Bataillon, "Approaches to the study of medieval sermons," I: 22–5; Bataillon, "La Predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia centrale," XII: 691–2; Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 92–3.

⁸ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 145–60; Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission*, 19–82.

⁹ Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 54, 62–74; Manselli, *S. Francesco d'Assisi*, 136–9; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 22–36; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 28, 38–9, 41, 43, 64–5, 108, 196–200, 211–12, 214–15.

Some of the few thirteenth-century texts that touch on language in the context of evangelism do so within a metaphorical context. For instance, the Italian *legenda* only mention multiple languages in respect to mission in terms of the founder's prediction about the future growth of the order. In this prophecy, as found first in Thomas of Celano's *Life of Saint Francis*, Francis tells his companion Giles that a host of people from many lands would join the order and that they would speak a multitude of languages.¹⁰ Since they heard this story directly from Giles, John of Perugia¹¹ and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* expanded upon this narrative by giving it more detail.¹² Despite this prophecy, John's *legendum*,¹³ the *Legend of the Three Companions*,¹⁴ and the *Chronica*¹⁵ show that the throngs of people speaking non-Italian tongues did not stream to Assisi, but instead that the friars took the order and its conceptions of orthodoxy and salvation to the people beyond the

¹⁰ 1 Celano, 22–3. “*Vidi multitudinem magnam hominum ad nos venientium et in habitu sanctae conversationis beataeque religionis regula nobiscum volentium conversari. Et ecce adhuc sonitus eorum est in auribus meis, euntium et redeuntium secundum obedientiae sanctae mandatum. Vidi quasi vias, ipsorum multitudine plenas, ex omni fere natione in his partibus convenire. Veniunt Francigenae, festinant Hispani, Teutonici et Anglici currunt, et aliarum diversarum linguarum accelerat maxima multitudo.*” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 13.

¹¹ Perugia, 442–3. “*Dixit autem beatus Franciscus ad comitem suum fratrem Aegidium: — ‘Similis erit Religio nostra homini piscatori, qui mittit retia sua in aquam capiens multitudinem piscium copiosam. Videns autem piscium multitudinem, magnos eligit in vasis suis, parvos in aqua relinquens.’ Miratus est ergo dictus Aegidius vehementer de prophetia quam Sanctus protulit ore suo, cum sciret parvum numerum fratrum esse.*”

¹² *Legenda trium sociorum*, 113–15. “*Dixit autem sanctus ad fratrem Egidium: ‘Nostra religio similis erit piscatori qui mittit retia sua in aquam capiens piscium multitudinem copiosam, et parvos in aqua relinquens magnos eligit in vasa sua.’ Sicque prophetavit ordinem dilatandum.*”

¹³ Perugia, 461–3. “*Expletis autem annis XI ab inceptio Religionis et multiplicato fratrum numero electi fuerunt Ministri et missi cum aliquantibus fratribus quasi per universas mundi provincias, ubi fides catholica colebatur.*” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–71; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–30.

¹⁴ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 137–42. “*Expletis itaque undecim annis ab inceptio religionis et multiplicatis numero et merito fratribus, electi fuerunt ministri et missi cum aliquot fratribus quasi per universas mundi partibus in quibus fides catholica colitur et servatur.*” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–71; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–30.

¹⁵ Jordan, 34–9. Chapter 3: “*Anno domini 1219. et anno conversionis eius decimo frater Franciscus in capitulo habito apud sanctam Mariam de Porciuncula misit fratres in Franciam, in Theutonium, in Ungariam, in Hispaniam et ad alias provincias Italie, ad quas fratres non pervenerant.*” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–71; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 28–30.

Alps. In these texts, the first formal missions trickled into Spain, France, Germany, and Hungary in 1219, while Jordan also tells us about the second mission to Germany in 1221¹⁶ and to other regions to the north and east in 1228¹⁷ and while Thomas of Eccleston discusses the friars' entry into England in 1224.¹⁸ Regardless of whether people flocked to the Friars Minor or the friars took their preaching to people in other lands, Francis' parable involving other languages was not meant to show how the order expanded but instead to portray the order's message of salvation as transcending territorial and language barriers.

Notwithstanding Jordan's *Chronica*, this idea that the friars should speak the local language when on mission outside of Italy does not seem to have been broached in pragmatic manner until the late thirteenth century. For example, while Brett Whalen indicates that Gregory IX had by 1240 encouraged the mendicant orders to establish schools in the Maghreb for the purpose of teaching the necessary languages for the purpose to those friars who intended to proselytize in northeastern Africa,¹⁹ this prodding might have been more effective with the Dominicans than with the Franciscans. Indeed, although the Dominican hierarchy had in 1236 commanded the members of its order to learn the languages—

¹⁶ Jordan, 40–4. Chapter 23: “Anno domini 1221. circa festum sancti Galli frater Cesarius minister Theutonie primus convocatis fratribus suis numero 31 in Augusta factoque ingressu Theutonie capitulo primo misit inde fratres ad diversas provincias Theutonie.”

¹⁷ Jordan, 56. Chapter 55: “Hic ordinis sui dilatator maximus fuit. Minister enim factus in Bohemiam, in Ungariam, in Poloniam, in Daciam et Norwegiam fratres misit. Domum quoque methensem recepit et ordinem in Lothoringia plantavit.”

¹⁸ Eccleston, 3. “Anno Domini M^o CC^o XX^o iiij^o, tempore domini Honorii papae, scilicet eodem anno quo confirmata est ab eo regula beati Francisci, anno domini regis Henrici, filii Johannis, octavo, feria 3 post festum nativitatis beatae Virginis, quod illo anno fuit die dominica, applicuerunt primo fratres minores in Angliam apud Doveriam, quatuor scilicet clerici et quinque laici.” Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 23, 59–72–4; Brooke, “La prima espansione francescana in Europa,” 132.

¹⁹ Whalen, “Corresponding with Infidels”: 500–1.

including Arabic—of foreign provinces, no such order exists for the Friars Minor.²⁰

Moreover, Franciscan Roger Bacon uses much of his *Opus Majus*, which he completed and presented to the pope in 1267, to complain about the Christian theologians' ignorance of the languages in which the Bible was written.²¹ However, he also proposes in this text that any evangelical effort among Hebrew-, Greek-, or Arabic-speakers necessitates that the friars learn these languages.²² His recommendation suggests that the Friars Minor had not put any serious effort into cultivating the knowledge of non-European languages for the purpose of evangelism outside of Catholic Christendom before 1267.

Interestingly, Arnold of Sarrant's late fourteenth-century *passio* of the five friars killed in Morocco also indicates how the ability to communicate ideas in the local language was a prerequisite for preaching to Muslims. In this narrative, when Francis exhorts the friars regarding how they were to conduct themselves with Muslims, the men express their ignorance of the Arabic language.²³ After the friars arrive in Seville, however, the *passio*

²⁰ Lawrence, *The Friars*, 202–3.

²¹ Roger Bacon, *The 'Opus majus' of Roger Bacon*, ed. John Henry Bridges (London: Williams and Norgate, 1900), 118. "Tertia vero causa est de notitia linguarum Ecclesiae Dei necessaria. Nam multi Graeci et Chaldaei et Armeni et Syri et Arabes et aliarum linguarum nationes subjiciuntur Ecclesiae Latinorum, cum quibus habet multa ordinare, et illis varia mandare. Sed non possunt haec rite pertractari, et ut oportet utiliter, nisi Latini scirent linguarum hujusmodi rationem. Cujus signum est, quod omnes dictae nationes vacillant fide et moribus et negligunt ordines Ecclesiae salutare quia persuasionem sinceram non recipiunt in lingua materna. Unde ubique apud tales nationes sunt mali Christiani, et Ecclesia non regitur ut oportet." Lawrence, *The Friars*, 140–51; Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation": 1395–6.

²² Bacon, *The 'Opus majus'*, 120. "Secunda causa est propter justitiam requirendam. Nam infinitae injuriae fiunt Latinis apud alias nationes a plebe, tam clericis quam laicis et religiosis ac fratribus praedicatoribus et minoribus qui vadunt propter varias utilitates Latinorum. Sed quia linguas nesciunt non possunt coram iudicibus causas peragere nec justitiam consequuntur." Daniel, *The Franciscan Concept of Mission*, 12, 55–75; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 164–5; Southern, *Western Views of Islam*, 48–62; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 140–51.

²³ *Passio sanctorum*, 581–2. "Tunc sancti fratres humiliter responderunt: 'Pater, mitte nos, quo volueris, quia parati sumus tuam implere voluntatem; sed tu, Pater, iuva nos tuis orationibus ad perficiendum mandatum. Nos enim sumus iuvenes et Italiam alias non exivimus, et ille populus est nobis ignotus et contra Christianos quadam rabie malitiae effrenatus, et nos sumus idiotae et linguam Arabicam penitus ignorantes.'" Ryan, "Missionary Saints": 8; Whalen, "Corresponding with Infidels": 487.

asserts that Beraldus could speak Arabic and therefore could preach in the local tongue. Because the Moroccans understand his words deriding Mohammed and Islamic law, Beraldus and the other friars come into direct conflict with the authorities.²⁴ Even though the *passio* is not concerned with actually converting Muslims, as discussed in Chapter 4, it nonetheless demonstrates that the friars needed to know how to communicate effectively with the target population in order to preach to them. If the target audience could not understand the language in which a message was being delivered, the local people would have no reason either to convert to orthodox Christianity or to persecute the friars for espousing anti-Islamic sentiments.

Many of the early to mid thirteenth-century Italian *legenda* sidestep the issue of language in the process of proselytizing the laity by suggesting that the Friars Minor could effectively encourage the laity to embrace orthodox Christian practices by modeling such behaviors for them. For example, John of Perugia²⁵ and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*²⁶ recount how the Italian lay friars first went on mission through central and northern Italy. In their stories, the lay friars impressed the townspeople with their orthodox religiosity by rejecting money, accepting whatever alms in terms of shelter and food that were given to them, and spending their time praying to God. Thomas of Eccleston indicates a similar sentiment in *On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England* with a tale about how the

²⁴ *Passio sanctorum*, 585. “Tunc fratres, ubicumque videbant Saracenos pro mercimoniis vel aliis congregatos, ad eos accedentes cum magna audacia legem Domini praedicabant. Saraceni vero de eorum praedicatione mirabantur et tamquam fatuos deridebant. Minister autem verbi erat frater Beraldus, qui noverat Saracenorum idioma.” Ryan, “Missionary Saints”: 8; Whalen, “Corresponding with Infidels”: 487.

²⁵ Perugia, 445–8. “Cumque viderent eos homines in suis tribulationibus exsultare et eas patienter pro Domino tollerare, et ab oratione devotissima non cessare, pecuniam quoque non recipere nec portare, sicut recipiebant alii pauperes indigentes, et magnam ad invicem dilectionem habere, in qua esse discipuli Domini noscebantur, multi benignitate Domini corde compuncti sunt; et venientes ad eos de offensis in eos veniam postulabant.”

²⁶ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 116–20. “At illi, gratias Deo agentes, manserunt apud illum diebus aliquot, aedificando eum tam exemplo quam verbo in timore Domini, ita quod postea multa pauperibus erogavit.”

provincial minister of England Peter of Tewksbury told another friar that he wanted to have several clerics who did not understand English sent to his province. Since the clerics could not speak the same language as the English laity, they would have to convey Franciscan values through the example of their lives instead of through sermons.²⁷ These narratives furnish very different details, such as Italian lay friars who could converse with the Italian laity versus non-English clerical friars who were unable to communicate with the English laity; however, they share the important feature that the friars could model proper orthodox behavior for the laity without the need to explain matters. In this form of exhortation, the friars depended on passion and not theological training, since they encouraged the laity to lead moral lives by showing them how to act.²⁸

However, Jordan counters this assertion by suggesting that language barriers between the friars and the local population could cause the laity to misinterpret the Franciscans' intentions and messages and to open the friars to accusations of heresy. As discussed in Chapter 8, Jordan highlights the importance of knowing the language of the local population for mission by telling readers about the failure of the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary.²⁹ For instance, Jordan suggests that when John of Penna led his mission, consisting entirely of lay friars, to Germany, none of the members of the mission could speak Latin to converse with the clergy or German to communicate with the laity. However, having

²⁷ Eccleston, 91–2. “Item dixit fratri Johanni de Dya, quod provideret sibi sex vel septem idoneos clericos de partibus suis, quos posset beneficiare in ecclesia sua; qui scilicet, quamvis nescirent Anglicum, exemplo praedicarent.” Le Goff, *Saint François d’Assise*, 193–5.

²⁸ Felder, *The Ideals of St. Francis*, 328.

²⁹ Brooke, “La prima espansione francescana in Europa,” 131–3; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 89–90, 227–8, 247–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 208; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 9–11, 136; Landini, *Clericalization*, 17–23, 35, 110; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 24.

discerned that responding with “ja” (German for “yes”) to questions posed to them resulted in food and shelter, the friars answered with “ja” to everything, including a query as to whether the men were heretics.³⁰ Since the friars answered “ja” and not “nein,” the Germans hit the friars, forced them to disrobe and dance naked, imprisoned them, and eventually drove them from Germany.³¹ In Hungary, the local population treated the friars with mistrust from the beginning by acting aggressively toward the strangers from Italy. These aggressive actions included threatening motions with farm implements and urging dogs to attack the friars.³² The friars attempted to mollify the Hungarians by giving the locals everything in their possession—including their breeches. The lay friars’ actions, supposedly including those behaviors that they exhibited for the Hungarian laity, did little to curtail the laity’s abusive treatment of the lay friars. As a result of this hostile treatment, the friars returned to Assisi thoroughly disheartened.³³ While these stories emphasize the persecution that the friars suffered, Jordan makes clear to the reader that this suffering resulted from the friars’ ignorance of the local language and not from their beliefs or from aggressive proselytizing. Additionally, Jordan’s use of eyewitness testimony is meant to signal the veracity of his

³⁰ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: “Et videntes quod per hoc verbum ‘ia’ humane tractarentur, ad quolibet interrogata ‘ja’ debere respondere decreverunt. Unde accidit, ut interrogati, si essent heretici et si ad hoc venissent, ut Theutonium inficerent, sicut et Lombardiam pervertissent, et respondissent ‘ia.’” Lawrence, *The Friars*, 44; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 208; Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 89–90, 227–8, 247–8; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 9–11, 136; Landini, *Clericalization*, 17–23, 35, 110; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8.

³¹ Jordan, 35. Chapter 5: “. . . quidam ex ipsis plagati, quidam incarcerati et quidam denudati nudi ad choream sunt ducti et spectaculum ludicre hominibus sunt effecti.”

³² Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “. . . et, cum divisi per campos incederent, pastores eos canibus impetierunt et aversa cuspide sub silencio incessanter eos lanceis percusserunt.” Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 64–5, 227–8; Manselli, *S. Francesco d’Assisi*, 209; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43–4; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 43–4; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 67–8.

³³ Jordan, 35. Chapter 6: “Et mihi retulit unus ex eisdem fratribus, quod XV vicibus ipse sic braccas amiserat. Et cum pudore et verecundia victus plus de braccis quam de aliis vestibus doleret, ipsas braccas luto boum et aliis inmunditiis polluit et sic ipsi pastores super eis nauseam habentes ipsi braccas retinere concesserunt.”

claims. After all, one should not to take Jordan at his word for the failure of the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary but should instead rely on the testimony of John of Penna and the unnamed friar from the Italian mission, since they experienced these events firsthand. Consequently, Jordan suggests that the friars needed to speak the local language if they did not want to be mistaken for heretics and be chased back to Italy.

Indeed, Jordan's *Chronica* indicates that the 1221 mission to Germany was successful in large part because some of the mission's members were multilingual as the result of having received a higher level of education. For example, when Caesar of Speyer led the 1221 mission, Jordan reports that several of the missionaries were multilingual with Italian as their most commonly shared language.³⁴ Furthermore, while most of the participants spoke Italian as their native language, Caesar, Barnabas, Conrad, Benedict of Soest, and Henry could speak German and, therefore, were able to communicate with and to preach effectively to the laity in Germany. Moreover, Caesar, John of Pian di Carpine, Barnabas, Thomas of Celano, Conrad, Peter of Camerino, James, Walter, Palmerius, and Jordan—all preachers, deacons, or subdeacons—knew Latin and so could interact verbally with and preach to German clerics.³⁵ Moreover, later in the *Chronica*, Jordan reveals that he learned German quickly after entering Germany, such as when he is able to switch between German and Latin in order to beg for

³⁴ Brooke, "La prima espansione francescana in Europa," 133; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 43–4.

³⁵ Jordan, 42. Chapter 19: "Primus minister Theutonie fuit frater Cesarius, qui sollicitus de obediencia sibi iniuncta utiliter adimplenda assumptis secum fratribus Johanne de Plano Carpinis, predicatore in latino et lombardico, et Barnaba Theutonico predicatore egregio in lombardico et theutonico, et Thoma de Zelano qui legendam sancti Francisci et primam et secundam postea conscripsit, et Joseph de Tervisio et Abraham Ungaro et Simone Tusco, filio comitis de Colazon, et Conrado theutonico clerico et Petro sacerdote de Chamerino et Jacobo et Valtero sacerdotibus et Palmero dyacono et fratre Jordane de Jano dyacono . . ." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 26–7.

alms, a narrative that will be explored more fully below.³⁶ Although the *Chronica* is for the most part vague regarding the lay friars' linguistic capabilities, the fact that Jordan readily dismisses the rest of the friars as laymen—most of whose names he had forgotten—is indicative of how unimportant Jordan considers them to be for the mission's success in comparison with the clerical and multilingual mission members.

A strict correlation between clericalism and education is difficult to argue, though, since the benefits of having a higher education, including multilingualism, were shared by two of the lay friars. In fact, Jordan does not strictly associate the qualities of educated and multilingual with clerical friars or the attributes of uneducated and monolingual with lay members of the mission. For example, Jordan tells us that the lay friar Abraham was from Hungary, which would indicate that Abraham spoke Hungarian. However, since he seemed to have sufficiently understood events at the 1221 General Chapter to have joined the mission to Germany,³⁷ it is likely that he also knew enough Italian, German, or Latin to communicate with other friars at the chapter and with those on the mission. Furthermore, Peregrine, a wealthy man from Trent who joined the order as they moved northward, was a lay novice proficient in both German and the “language of the Lombards.”³⁸ Since Jordan only provides these two examples of multilingual laymen, he suggests that multilingualism was prominent among clerical members of the order and rare among lay members. Consequently, the initial

³⁶ Jordan, 45–6. Chapter 27: “In via vero constituti cum gustandi gratia ad villam quandam venissent, bini et bini per villam mendicantes, responsum habebant theutonice: ‘Goth berad’ quod latine dicitur: deus vos adiuvet, vel sic: deus vobis provideat. Unus ex ipsis videns, quod ad illud verbum eis nihil daretur, cogitavit et etiam dixit: ‘Istud ‘Got berad’ hodie nos interficiet.’ Et precurrrens fratrem, qui quotidie mendicabat, cepit latina lingua mendicare. Et responderunt Theutonici: ‘Nos latinum non intelligimus. Loquere nobis theutonice!’ Et frater corrupte proferens dixit: ‘Nicht iudisch,’ quod latine dicitur: Nihil theutonici, subaudi, scio.”

³⁷ Jordan, 42.

³⁸ Jordan, 43. Chapter 20: “Ad quorum predicacionem quidam civis de Tridento, vir dives theutonice et lombardica lingua eruditus nomine Peregrinus fratribus novis tunicis superioribus et inferioribus vestitis et reliquis rebus suis omnibus venditis et pauperibus distributis ad ordinem est receptus”

introduction of a mission into a new province benefitted in an incidental manner from the order's increasing clericalization in that these clerical friars were more likely to be multilingual.

By ensuring that the members of the 1221 mission were multilingual, the order increased the likelihood that the laity in new regions would accept them. Aside from being able to avoid being mistaken for heretics, which was a problem with the friars on the 1219 mission, the most prevalent benefit of the friars' multilingualism for the 1221 mission can be seen in the Franciscans' acceptance in new regions by the local clergy, in their ability to preach in many German towns, and in their reception of a number of converts acquired through preaching in German. For instance, one of Caesar of Speyer's first actions as the new German provincial minister, before the members of the mission had actually reached German-speaking areas, was to send two or three friars ahead to establish contact with the regional bishops and clergy.³⁹ Although Jordan explains that Caesar sent these friars in advance in order to prepare a place for the friars, we might also infer, based on the problems experienced by the 1219 mission to Germany, that these friars were tasked with alerting bishops and clergy along the route about the pending arrival of a large number of mendicants, so that they would not be surprised, and reassuring the authorities of the friars' orthodoxy in order to ensure that they would be welcomed.

Moreover, this ability to speak in the local language permitted the friars to preach to the laity and to attract German-speaking novices to the order. Jordan indicates that the bishops were satisfied with the Franciscans' orthodoxy, since the friars received episcopal permission

³⁹ Jordan, 43. Chapter 19: "Et cum iter arripere disponderet ad Theutonium, vocatis fratribus suis fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis et fratrem Barnabam et aliquosdam alios misit ante faciem suam ad preparandum sibi et fratribus suis locum in Tridentum, aliis fratribus per trinos et quaternos subsequentibus." Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27.

to preach to the townspeople. For instance, the bishop of Trent received the friars with kindness and permitted them to deliver sermons to the clergy and the laity.⁴⁰ Moreover, the bishop allowed a small group of friars to remain in his diocese with permission to preach after the main party continued on to Germany.⁴¹ A similar event occurred in Hildesheim, where the bishop allowed John of Pian di Carpine to preach to a crowd of clerics before permitting the friars to hear confessions and to preach sermons to the laity.⁴² Jordan does not say whether the bishops of Brixen,⁴³ Augsburg,⁴⁴ and Salzburg⁴⁵ permitted the friars to preach; however, one suspects that the bishops of Augsburg and Salzburg did, since the laity and clergy in Augsburg welcomed the friars,⁴⁶ suggesting a willingness to hear their message, and the bishop of Salzburg permitted the friars to remain in his city with the implicit purpose of preaching to the laity.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ Jordan, 43.

⁴¹ Jordan, 43. Chapter 21: “Et ibidem dominus episcopus tridentinus fratres successive venientes per dies aliquot sustentavit et dedit eis licenciam in sua diocesi predicandi.”

⁴² Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: “Qui inquam episcopus convocato civitatis sue clero fratrem Johannem de Plano Carpinis, primum custodem Saxonie, fecit clericorum multitudini predicare. Sermonem vero finito dominus episcopus fratrem Johannem et fratres ordinis sui clero et populo recommendans ipsis et predicandi et confessiones in sua diocesi audiendi auctoritatem dedit. Ad fratrum vero predicationem et exemplum multi ad penitentiam compuncti se ordini reddiderunt.” Freed, *The Friars and German Society*, 27.

⁴³ Jordan, 43. Chapter 21: “De Bozano vero in Brixnam venientes benigne a loci episcopo sunt recepti.”

⁴⁴ Jordan, 44. Chapter 22: “Facto ergo prandio magis referti quam refecti processerunt et ita per villas et castella et monasteria transeundo Augustam pervenerunt. Ubi a domino episcopo augustensi et a vicedomino, nepote suo maioris ecclesie canonico, benignissime sunt recepti. Ipse enim dominus augustensis tanto affectu ad fratres ferebatur, ut singulos ad oscula reciperet et cum osculo dimitteret.”

⁴⁵ Jordan, 45–6. Chapter 24: “Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch. Qui ab eiusdem loci episcopo benigne recepti sunt.”

⁴⁶ Jordan, 44. Chapter 22: “Insuper et a clero et populo benigne sunt recepti et reverenter salutati.”

⁴⁷ Jordan, 45. Chapter 24: “Et de eodem capitulo frater Cesarius misit fratrem Jordanem de Jane cum duobus sociis, Abraham et Constantino in Saltzburch. Qui ab eiusdem loci episcopo benigne recepti sunt.”

Furthermore, the clerical friars demonstrated the effectiveness of their education and their multilingualism by attracting many converts from the laity to the order. As the friars established themselves in various German towns, their proselytizing—which had to be in the local tongue for it to be effective with the laity—gained them many converts. Of these novices, Jordan only names Peregrine of Trent,⁴⁸ Hartmuth (whom Jordan says the Italian friars called Andrew),⁴⁹ Rodiger,⁵⁰ Rudolph,⁵¹ Bernard (“the son of the countess of Poppenburg”),⁵² a teacher named Albert,⁵³ Ludolph,⁵⁴ Hermann of Weissensee,⁵⁵ Conrad of Würzburg,⁵⁶ Henry of Würzburg,⁵⁷ Arnold,⁵⁸ Henry of Cologne,⁵⁹ Gernot of Worms,⁶⁰

⁴⁸ Jordan, 43, 45, 48–9. Chapter 20: “Ad quorum predicacionem quidam civis de Tridento, vir dives theutonica et lombardica lingua eruditus nomine Peregrinus fratribus novis tunicis superioribus et inferioribus vestitis et reliquis rebus suis omnibus venditis et pauperibus distributis ad ordinem est receptus.”

⁴⁹ Jordan, 45. Chapter 25: “Eodem anno frater Cesarius veniens Herbipolim recepit ad ordinem iuvenem abilem et litteratum nomine Harthmodum. Quem Italici nominare nescientes Andrean appellabant, eo quod in die beati Andree ad ordinem est receptus. Qui in brevi sacerdos et predicator factus est et custos Saxonie postmodum est effectus.”

⁵⁰ Jordan, 45. Chapter 25: “Similiter et recepit quendam laicum nomine Rodegerum qui postmodum in Halberstat factus est guardianus et magister spiritualis discipline beate Elizabeth, docens earn servare castitatem, humilitatem et pacenciam et oracionibus invigilare et operibus misericordie insudare.”

⁵¹ Jordan, 45. Chapter 25: “Similiter et recepit quendam laycum nomine Rodolphum.”

⁵² Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: “. . . Bernhardus filius comitis de Poppenburch”

⁵³ Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: “. . . Albertus magister puerorum vir litteratus”

⁵⁴ Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: “. . . quidam Ludolphus”

⁵⁵ Jordan, 49. Chapter 40: “. . . Hermannus de Wicense, sacerdos novicius et predicator”

⁵⁶ Jordan, 49. Chapter 40: “. . . Conradus de Herbipoli dyaconus novicius”

⁵⁷ Jordan, 49. Chapter 40: “. . . Henricus de Herbipoli, subdiaconus novicius”

⁵⁸ Jordan, 49. Chapter 40: “. . . Arnoldus clericus novicius”

⁵⁹ Jordan, 51. Chapter 40: “. . . Henricus de Colonia”

⁶⁰ Jordan, 51. Chapter 40: “. . . Gemotus de Wormacia”

Conrad of Swabia,⁶¹ John of Cologne,⁶² and Henry of Hildesheim.⁶³ Additionally, the order received in Hildesheim a canon from the local cathedral⁶⁴ and an unnamed knight.⁶⁵ Jordan also says that 31 converts were present at the 1221 chapter at Augsburg⁶⁶ (which indicates that the order doubled its numbers in less than a year), and such a great number of converts were at the 1222 chapter at Worms that they needed to borrow a church from the local bishop.⁶⁷ In this way, the friars' ability to speak Latin and German greatly increased the Friars Minor ability to integrate themselves into the German regions and to attract new members in this province, thereby contributing to the mission's favorable outcome.

As a result, Jordan suggests that the success of a mission beyond the Italian regions depended in large part on the friars' abilities to communicate with the local populations. On a most basic level, this ability to communicate allowed the friars to move into new areas and to integrate into these communities without suffering too much from misunderstandings or from being confused with heretics. When it came to sharing the order's conceptions of orthodoxy, the mission benefited from the clerical friars' abilities to communicate the Gospel in a way that the audience could understand. Since the ability to speak more than one language was

⁶¹ Jordan, 51. Chapter 40: "... Conradus Suevie"

⁶² Jordan, 51. Chapter 40: "... Johannes de Colonia"

⁶³ Jordan, 51. Chapter 40: "... Henricus de Hildenseim."

⁶⁴ Jordan, 48. Chapter 35. "... maioris ecclesie canonicus"

⁶⁵ Jordan, 48. Chapter 35: "et quidam miles."

⁶⁶ Jordan, 44. Chapter 23: "Anno domini 1221. circa festum sancti Galli frater Cesarius minister Theutonie primus convocatis fratribus suis numero 31 in Augusta factoque ingressu Theutonie capitulo primo misit inde fratres ad diversas provincias Theutonie."

⁶⁷ Jordan, 45. Chapter 26: "Anno domini 1222. frater Cesarius tot iam fratres tam clericos quam laycos receperat, quod fratribus de civitatibus vicinis convocatis capitulum primum provinciale in Wormacia celebraret. Et quia locus, in quo fratres recepti erant, artus erat nec ad celebrandum nec ad predicandum propter multitudinem aptus, habito consilio episcopi et canonicorum, quoad celebrandum et predicandum in maiori ecclesia convenerunt."

closely—though not entirely—related to one’s access to education, this meant that the ability to communicate in two or more languages was most available to those who strove to become clerics. Furthermore, Jordan suggests that this ability served to express the dominant clerical identity of the 1221 mission. Multilingualism did this by dividing those educated friars who were effective in expanding the friars into new regions and in attracting entrants to the order from those uneducated friars who could be mistaken for heretics and who relied on the multilingual clerical friars to protect them from such a possibility.

Multilingual Begging

In one of his stories, Jordan recounts how he was able to use his knowledge of both Latin and German when begging in order to acquire extra food from the German laity.⁶⁸ Because the ability of some of the friars to speak in two or more languages aided in establishing the order outside Italy and in attracting new members, it is advantageous to consider that multilingualism was beneficial to the order in terms of the acquisition of alms through begging. In this regard, the scholarship on Franciscan mendicancy focuses more on the legal, theoretical, and economic aspects of begging than on the procedures for obtaining alms from the laity and much less in terms of language. For example, Augustine Thompson’s treatment of begging concentrates on the legal and theological conceptions,⁶⁹ while Nicole Bériou focuses on the economic language of begging as found in surviving donation accounts.⁷⁰ For

⁶⁸ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27.

⁶⁹ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 13, 29, 37–8, 52, 77, 98–100, 106–7, 131, 190–1, 200, 212–14, 240, 260.

⁷⁰ Nicole Bériou, “Le vocabulaire de la vie économique dans les textes pastoraux des frères mendiants au XIII^e siècle,” in *L’economia dei conventi dei frati minori e predicatori fino alla metà del trecento, Atti del XXXI Convegno internazionale, Assisi, 9–11 ottobre 2003*, Società Internazionale di Studi Francescani/Centro Interuniversitario di Studi Francescani (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2004), 153–86.

his part, Jacques Le Goff asserts that charity derives from God's love, and the mendicant orders served to underscore the connection between God's beneficence and the need for humans to take care of the underprivileged within society.⁷¹ Meanwhile, Michel Mollat writes that Francis commanded entrants to the Friars Minor to give away all of their worldly goods, because the act prompted the novice to adopt an identity similar to that of the poorest members of society while ministering to them. The process also served to emphasize that God fulfilled all of the friars' needs, since the friars had to beg even for their daily meals.⁷² Additionally, Suzanne Roberts argues that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *vita apostolica* emphasized charity as a theological reaction to the formation of a money economy and as a result of Christ's identification with the poor in the Gospel of Matthew.⁷³ Since the mendicant orders' reliance on begging also caused friction with the lay populations of Europe and were often criticized for this practice, it is helpful to ask what accusations were leveled against the mendicants regarding begging, how the Friars Minor responded to such charges, and whether these responses were uniform throughout the order.

Lay criticism of the Franciscan practice of begging for alms can be linked to the order's rapid growth after 1216, since larger and larger numbers of friars were asking for food and other needed items in larger quantities. For instance, before 1216, while the order was small in size, local populations could easily provide for the friars in a given city. Even with competition from the city's pre-existing poor, clergy, and monastics, it is unlikely that the

⁷¹ Le Goff, *Saint François d'Assise*, 184–5.

⁷² Michel Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen âge : étude sociale* (Paris : Hachette, 1978), 147; Scott Davis, "Philanthropy as a Virtue," in *Giving: Western Ideas of Philanthropy*, ed. J. B. Schneewind (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 17–18.

⁷³ Suzanne Roberts, "Contexts of Charity in the Middle Ages," in *Giving: Western Ideas of Philanthropy*, ed. J. B. Schneewind (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 26–9, 39.

city felt the impact of a dozen or so friars' demands for food or other resources. However, as the order grew at an exponential rate after 1216, the friars exerted an increasing amount of pressure on urban populations for alms. While some estimates place the size of the order at about 3,000 in 1221 and 5,000 in 1222, that number grew to around 30,000 in 1260.⁷⁴ With hundreds and then thousands of additional mouths to feed, even scattered throughout central and northern Italy, the laity in these cities found it more and more difficult to provide for the friars as well as the poor and the religious who already depended on their alms. Additionally, as the Franciscan membership rapidly climbed after 1221, and the Friars Minor asked for larger quantities of alms, the laity became more and more unsympathetic, since its abilities to donate food had reached some perceived limits.⁷⁵

The Friars Minor seem to have countered denunciations of their begging by relying on a popular parable. The first occurrence of this tale is found in a collection of Sunday sermons written in 1219 by Odo of Cheriton (c. 1185–1246/47), and the appearance of this narrative before 1220 suggests that these criticisms likely emerged at about the same time that the order began to grow in size at a rapid rate. In this parable, Francis told the story of how a woman had a tryst with a king and bore him a son without anyone else's knowledge. A few years later, the woman took the son to the king and asked him to care for the boy. Lamenting that he fed a large number of evil people at his table, the king felt that it was only right that he should also provide for his own son. After finishing the story, Francis explained that God (the king) had impregnated Francis (the woman) with the Holy Word so as to beget the friars

⁷⁴ Bruzelius, "The Dead Come to Town: Preaching, Burying, and Building in the Mendicant Orders," in *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*, ed. Alexandra Gajewski & Zoë Opačić (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols Publishers, 2007), 211–12.

⁷⁵ Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 25–75; Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 34–71; Landini, *Clericalization*, 35–45; Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 46–74; Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages*, 22–36; Merlo, *Nel nome di san Francesco*, 57–117.

(their sons) and that God would take care of these friars from his table. Odo's story indicates that the "large number of evil people" at the king's table included many members of the laity, who sinned because they did not perform such orthodox practices as confessing their sins, performing penance, or receiving the Eucharist.⁷⁶ Although it is likely that Jordan encountered this parable in Thomas of Celano's *Remembrance of the Desire of a Soul*,⁷⁷ the story is also featured in John of Perugia's *legendum*⁷⁸ and in the *Legend of the Three Companions*.⁷⁹ The prominence of this narrative in these *legenda* suggests that these authors were responding to continuing criticisms from the laity about the Franciscans' practice of begging.

The most vigorous criticisms of the friars' mendicancy practices is found in the wrings of William of Saint-Amour and Gerard of Abbeville, secular masters at the university of Paris in the mid to late thirteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 7, the secular and mendicant

⁷⁶ Michael Bihl, "S. Francisci parabola in sermonibus Odonis de Ceritona an. 1219 conscriptis," *AFH* 22 (1929): 584–7. "Quod exponens, dixit se esse mulierem quam Dominus verbo suo impregnavit, qui filios spirituales genuit. Ex quo Dominus tot iniustos pascit, non est mirandum, si filios proprios inter alios sustentet." Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 19; Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 235–6.

⁷⁷ 2 Celano, 144–5. "Cumque *vir Dei* haec et similia saepius animo volveret, nocte quadam, deditus somno, *visionem* hanc videt. Inspicit *gallinam* parvam et nigram, columbae domesticae similem, crura tota pennata habentem eum pedibus. Haec *pullos* habebat innumeros, qui *gallinam* rotantes instanter, *sub alas* eius omnes *congregari* nequibant. *Surgit a somno vir Dei*, ad cor meditata reducit, efficitur ipse suae *visionis* *interpret*. 'Gallina,' inquit, 'haec sum ego, statura pusillus nigerque natura, cui columbina per innocentiam vitae debet famulari simplicitas, quae sicut aevo rarissima, sic expedite volat ad caelum. Pulli sunt, fratres numero multiplicati et gratia,' quos *a conturbatione hominum* et *a contradictione linguarum* defendere Francisci virtus non sufficit." Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 19; Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 235–6.

⁷⁸ Perugia, 454–5. "Respondit ei Rex, dicens: 'Noli timere de tua nimia paupertate, nec de filiis tibi natis et plurimis nascituris, quoniam cum multi mercenarii in domo mea abundant panibus, nolo ego quod filii mei fame pereant, sed volo eos plus aliis abundare.'" Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 19; Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 235–6.

⁷⁹ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 126–7. "'Cui cum respondissent se esse filios mulieris pauperulae in deserto morantis, rex cum magno gaudio amplexatus est eos dicens: 'Nolite timere, quia filii mei estis. Si enim de mensa mea nutriuntur extranei, multo magis vos qui estis mei legitimi.' Mandavit itaque rex mulieri praedictae ut omnes filios ex se susceptos ad suam curiam mitteret nutriendos.' His igitur sic ostensis per visum beato Francisco oranti, intellexit vir sanctus se per illam mulierem pauperulam designari." Moorman, *A History of the Franciscan Order*, 19; Esser, *Origins of the Franciscan Order*, 235–6.

masters at the University of Paris quarreled over a host of issues, and confrontation over begging was one of more aggressive expressions of their exchanges.⁸⁰ For his part, William of Saint-Amour (c.1200–1272) recorded his interpretation of the popular criticisms in writing in 1256 from his position as a secular master at the University of Paris. For example, he claimed in *On the Dangers of the Last Times* that the mendicants should support themselves through labor, not begging, since those who beg will say anything to acquire something from a potential donor, thereby compromising the integrity of their message.⁸¹ In his reading of the Gospels, Saint-Amour claimed that the Apostles never begged and even refused to take offerings because they did not want to place any hardships on donors.⁸² Indeed, since they were preachers, Christ and the Apostles could not have begged for alms from those individuals to whom they delivered sermons, since that would imply a trade of money or goods in receipt for the message of salvation, an exchange that was redolent of the sin of simony.⁸³ In this interpretation, William considered anyone to be a false prophet if that

⁸⁰ Dawson, “William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition”: 223–38; Geltner, ed., *William of Saint-Amour*, 5–13; Whalen, *Dominion of God*, 177–86; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 54–7, 152–65; Lawrence, *Early Mendicant Movement*, 53–7; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 129–43, 189–90; Brooke, *The Image of St Francis*, 83.

⁸¹ William of Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, ed. G. Geltner (Dudley, Mass.: Peeters, 2008), 96–9. “Si queratur cuiusmodi periculum sit in petendo necessaria sive in mendicando, respondemus, quoniam illi, qui de mendicitate vivere volunt, fiunt adulatores et detractores et mendaces et fures et a iustitia declinantes.” James Dayne Dawson, “William of Saint-Amour and the Apostolic Tradition,” *Medieval Studies* 40 (1978): 225–9.

⁸² William of Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, 100–7. “Oblata vero recipiebant, sciebant enim apostoli quod non est dandum ex necessitate vel tristitia. . . . Panis enim apostolorum debet esse gratuitus; immo etiam rogati apostoli recipere nolebant, timentes ne ipsos offerentes gravarent.” . . . “Ergo, cum Christus esset pastor, et missus ad predicandum, relinquitur quod ab illis, quibus predicabat, non poterat mendicare. Immo, qui dicit eum mendicasse non dicit eum fuisse pastorem” . . . “Sic ergo manifeste apparet ex hiis dictis quod nec predicatori nec alteri christiano licet mendicare perpetuo si aliunde potest habere iure necessaria sine peccato. Patet etiam quod per subtractionem mendicandi vel necessaria vite querendi subtrahitur pseudo predicatoribus usurpario predicandi. Et sic patet qualiter pericula, que instant ecclesie per illos pseudo qui penetrant domos, et per alios pseudo, et per otiosos, curiosos, girovagos possunt ab ecclesia repelli.”

⁸³ William of Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, 126–7. “XXI signum est quod veri apostoli non cupiunt temporalia bona illorum quibus predicant; per quod discernuntur a lupis, id est, a pseudo prophetis.” . . . “Sed dicet quis, nonne potest predicator ab illis quibus predicat sumptus petere, saltem mendicando? Respondemus,

person took alms in return for preaching.⁸⁴

Furthermore, Gerard of Abbeville (d. 1272), another theologian from the University of Paris, rebuked the friars for taking from the common purse without putting anything into it. The idea of the common purse is derived from the belief that Christ and his Apostles shared all of their belongings;⁸⁵ however, Christian doctrine applied this concept to the greater Christian community, wherein people shared a little bit with each other by giving or taking alms as and when they needed. In *Against Adversaries of Christian Perfection* (c. 1269), Gerard argued that the Friars Minor misunderstood the concept of the common purse, since the friars attempted to live by taking from it while simultaneously living in poverty so that they did not have anything to put back into it.⁸⁶

Even though William of Saint-Amour and Gerard of Abbeville wrote their condemnations about the mendicants after 1250, their arguments are likely representative of criticisms the friars received during the 1230s and 1240s, if not before. For example,

si predicat ex potestate, ut tamquam verus pastor pascat gregem suum pabulo verbi dei, sumptus potest recipere. Sed tunc non est mendicitas sed potestas.”

⁸⁴ William of Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, 126–7. “Sed quod predicator valeat mendicare, nusquam in sacris literis reperitur, sed mendicitas omni christiana ab apostolo prohibetur, et a Salomone abhorretur, et ab Augustino et aliis sanctis expositoribus reprobat, ut ostensum est supra, XII capitulo. Sic ergo patet, quod veri apostoli bona temporalia eorum quibus predicant non cupiunt nec etiam ea mendicant. Qui ergo petunt ab illis quibus predicant aut alius petit pro ipsis non videntur esse veri apostoli, sed pseudo.”

⁸⁵ Gerard of Abbeville, “Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae,” *AFH* 32, 124. “Si enim una totius Ecclesiae est res publica, omnes loculos habent, etsi non proprios, tamen communes cum Ecclesia, sicut et tu, cum tractares de mendicitate, dixisti, ‘quod ubicumque accipis, a Christo accipis’ qui est Dominus rei publicae omnium Christianorum. Ista res publica sunt loculi Christi. Ergo, si Christi membrum es, cum Christo loculos habes.” Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 131; Virpi Mäkinen, *Property Rights in the Late Medieval Discussion on Franciscan Poverty* (Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 2001), 35–6.

⁸⁶ Gerard of Abbeville, “Contra adversarium perfectionis christianae,” *AFH* 32, 123–4. “Sed dices: Condemnasne eos, qui loculos non habent nec laborant de labore manuum? Usquequo ad hanc partem veniam, in qua de hoc tractasti, nunc reservo: loculos non habentes non contemno, sed laudo; nec tamen habentibus rationibus supradictis in perfectione praefero, quia ‘non est discipulus supra magistrum.’ Etsi enim homo solus sine loculis possit vivere, ut sibi nihil reservet, sed tamen de congregatione, cui tanta competunt, credibile non est.” Mäkinen, *Property Rights*, 35–6; Şenocak, *The Poor and the Perfect*, 131.

disapproval of the Friars Minor based on their inability to put back into the common purse predates Gerard of Abbeville's judgment of the mendicants. Indeed, we find a response to such a disparagement in the "We who were with him" texts, which date from the 1240s and 1250s. One of the authors of these texts was sufficiently rankled by this rebuke that he had Francis address these concerns directly. In a brief monologue to his followers, the founder said that he never profited from alms, since they were the inheritance of the poor. Instead, he took less than he really needed so as to avoid stealing from others.⁸⁷

Jordan seems to respond to these criticisms with a story about how he had difficulty begging for alms within the first year of his arrival in Germany. With this narrative, he also indicates that multilingual friars could use their knowledge of languages to their benefit when begging in regions where the friars were not established in the community. As Jordan recounts, he and six companions are traveling from Salzburg to Speyer to see the provincial minister, and they beg for alms in the form of food along the way. However, the friars discover that the Germans ignore the friars' requests for alms, telling them only "*God berad*," or "Let God provide," implying that God should take care of the friars directly and not indirectly through the German laity.⁸⁸ Frustrated by these refusals, Jordan feigns ignorance of the local language by combining and mangling "Nicht diutisch," and "Nihil theutonicum"—so as to mispronounce the German and Latin for "I do not know German"—and

⁸⁷ *Compilatio Assisiensis*, 48. "Dicebat beatus Franciscus frequenter verba ista fratribus: 'Non fui latro unquam, id est de helemosinis, que pauperum sunt hereditas, semper minus accepi, quam me contingeret, ne defraudarentur alii pauperes sorte sua, quia contrarium facere furtum esset.'"

⁸⁸ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27. "In via vero constituti cum gustandi gratia ad villam quandam venissent, bini et bini per villam mendicantes, responsum habebant theutonice: 'Goth berad' quod latine dicitur: deus vos adiuuet, vel sic: deus vobis provideat." Pompilj, *La Cronaca*, 19–21; Zips, *Franziskus von Assisi*, 28–9; Hardick, *Nach Deutschland und England*, 20–1, 217; Brooke, *Early Franciscan Government*, 25.

follows that up with “Brot durch Gott,” or “Bread for the sake of God.”⁸⁹ When the couple express amazement that Jordan can speak German even though he said that he did not know their tongue, he just smiles and acts as if he does not understand them.⁹⁰ As a result of this interaction, the Germans feel pity for the young Italian mendicant and provide enough food, including bread, eggs, and milk, to feed all seven friars.⁹¹

Although Jordan enters the debate about how God cares for the friars without directly referencing the abovementioned parable about the king and the son that he sires from a poor woman, Jordan nonetheless seems to use his story to tell his audience implicitly that they cannot passively rely on God’s providence. Instead, the friars sometimes need to work to prompt God’s providence out of the laity. As noted above, Jordan is frustrated with the manner in which the German laity refuse to give any food to him and tell him that God would provide for the friars as the lay people walked away without furnishing alms. To circumvent this difficulty, Jordan suggests to the other friars that they need to be creative so as to convince the laity to be those divine instruments and to act as conduits for God’s grace.⁹² In Jordan’s case, he does it first by pretending to be a foreigner unable to speak German and is therefore able to break the lay people’s expectations of how to act in the situation, which prompts them to focus more on him and to intensify their level of sympathy toward him. By

⁸⁹ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27. “Unus ex ipsis videns, quod ad illud verbum eis nihil daretur, cogitavit et etiam dixit: ‘Istud ‘Got berad’ hodie nos interficiet.’ Et precurrens fratrem, qui quotidie mendicabat, cepit latina lingua mendicare. Et responderunt Theutonici: ‘Nos latinum non intelligimus. Loquere nobis theutonice!’ Et frater corrupte proferens dixit: ‘Nicht iudisch,’ quod latine dicitur: Nihil theutonici, subaudi, scio. Et adiecit theutonice: ‘Brot durch got.’”

⁹⁰ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27. “At illi: ‘Mirum est, dicendo theutonice dicis te nescire theutonicum.’ Et adiecerunt: ‘Got berat.’ Et frater exultans in spiritu et subridens et simulans se ignorare, quid diceret, posuit se in bancum et sedit.”

⁹¹ Jordan, 46. Chapter 27. “Unde vir et mulier sese mutuo respicientes et subridentes propter improbitatem eius, dabant ei panem, ova et lac. Videns igitur, quod tali simulacione utili sibi et fratrum suorum necessitati posset subvenire, per 12 domos simili modo transiens tantum mendicabat, quod 7 fratribus sufficebat.”

⁹² Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen âge*, 55; Davis, “Philanthropy as a Virtue,” 13–14.

forcing people into different, more sympathetic roles, Jordan is able to increase the likelihood that the laity will present him with food. In the second case, he reminds them of their part in God's providence by then using the phrase—"Brot durch Gott"—that Germans expect in a begging situation; he concentrates the laity's attention on the meaning of the phrase so as to remind them that they are God's agents.⁹³ "Bread for the sake of God" or, more literally, "Bread through God" or "Bread by way of God,"⁹⁴ suggests to lay individuals that they serve as the conduit for God's intentions so that the bread comes from God through their actions.

Admittedly, this idea that friars could acquire more alms by begging in a foreign language is not unique to Jordan, since a similar story can be found in the *Legend of the Three Companions*. In this tale, which takes place during the founder's youth and before his conversion, Francis goes on pilgrimage to Rome, where he is dissatisfied with the number of alms given to the poor. At first, he throws a handful of his own coins to the poor but then decides to trade his fine clothes for those of one of the beggars. In these rags, Francis begs for alms in French, though his knowledge of the language is not so good. However, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* use this story to accentuate Francis' concern for the poor and his willingness to beg for alms to help the wretched. Although the *legendum* does not explicitly say so, it is understood that the almsgivers are more willing to dispense alms to Francis since they think that the young man cannot speak Italian and therefore seems to be at a greater disadvantage than the Italian-speaking beggars.⁹⁵ In both of these

⁹³ Mollat, *Les Pauvres au Moyen âge*, 55; Davis, "Philanthropy as a Virtue," 13–14.

⁹⁴ Jordan, 45–6.

⁹⁵ *Legenda trium sociorum*, 96–7. "Exiens autem ante fores ecclesiae ubi multi pauperes aderant ad eleemosynas petendas, mutuo accepit secreto panniculos cuiusdam pauperuli hominis et suos deponens illos induit. Atque stans in gradibus ecclesiae cum aliis pauperibus eleemosynam gallice postulabat, quia libenter lingua gallica loquebatur licet ea recte loqui nesciret." Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 190.

stories, though, Jordan and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* underscore that the friars could use knowledge of a second language in order to influence the laity to give more.

Consequently, even though Jordan has already indicated that the friars benefited from the knowledge derived from being able to speak an additional language, he here suggests that the friars also benefited from their linguistic knowledge when they begged for alms. Moreover, he intimates that the friars benefited from their linguistic capabilities because of the fluidity of language, whether by exhibiting knowledge of a second language by holding a conversation in it with someone or by feigning ignorance of that language and pretending not to be able to understand what the other person is saying.

Conclusion

While the capacity to preach Church doctrine in an eloquent and knowledgeable manner was important, that ability was insufficient if one could not speak the same language as the audience. Indeed, the inability to communicate in the local language could result in false impressions that could lead to a mission's failure, as the *Chronica* indicates happened with the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary. By contrast, the faculty to speak even one word of the audience's tongue could open important doors, as Jordan suggests occurred when Francis wanted to meet the sultan in 1220. Fluency in a second language, though, opened entire regions to the order, as Jordan suggests with his account of the 1221 mission to Germany. Moreover, Jordan intimates that the ability to pretend to be ignorant of a language could equally enable the friars to accomplish tasks, such as begging for alms from a recalcitrant laity, that fluency in only one language made more difficult. From this, we can

infer that Jordan saw benefits in education that included multilingual fluency as well as flexibility in the use of that fluency. In this way, the *Chronica* suggests that the Franciscans could more ably fulfill their goal to preach the Word of God if the friars had the language skills that would permit them to do so across linguistic barriers and that would allow them to negotiate more ably with the laity. The identity, then, that Jordan provides for a mission led by educated and multilingual clerics is a mission that is more able to overcome misunderstandings and to survive difficulties than a mission that consisted of lay friars.

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has explored the use of personal and collective memory in Jordan of Giano's *Chronica* and suggests that the theories and concepts regarding memory, narrative, and identity that are used by historians in their investigations of modern texts can be applied to medieval texts. Indeed, by applying these theories and concepts to Jordan's *Chronica*, this study suggests that he expresses and responds to tensions within the order stemming from the process of clericalization during the early to mid thirteenth century and that he utilizes stories associated with these anxieties to furnish a clerical identity for the Friars Minor. This clerical identity in the *Chronica* is important because it challenges the presentation provided by John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the authors of the "We who were with him" texts that portray the friars as principally embodying the concept of simplicity. Furthermore, this investigation of Jordan's use of memory suggests that he responded to narratives that were composed in Italy but that were stored in the Franciscans' collective memory and were shared through much of the order by way of oral tradition. By exploring the manner in which narratives are formed from personal and collective memory and the way in which they are then used to form a group or organizational identity, the dissertation contributes to the growing literature on medieval memory.

To explore Jordan's use of memory, this study began by investigating the manner in which scholars in the last century attempted to categorize the *Chronica* in order to mobilize Jordan's information in their works. In this regard, Chapter 1 indicates that scholars disagree

as to how they think about Jordan's work, since some call it a chronicle or annal while others term it a memoir. By examining the *Chronica* in terms of the manner in which scholars think about chronicles, annals, memoirs, and biographies, Chapter 1 suggests that Jordan's work does not fit precisely into any of these categories, and that scholars might instead consider the *Chronica* in terms of a narrative composed from memory for the purpose of constructing a particular identity for the Friars Minor. This investigation indicates that the traditional reliance on Jordan as an eyewitness to events in Italy before 1221 needs to be reevaluated, since Jordan's use of his personal memory only begins with the general chapter at Assisi.

Because of Jordan's reliance on memory, Chapter 2 explores how memory works and the manner in which some of the most influential conceptions of memory engage with its "collective" aspect. At one extreme, such scholars as Frederic Bartlett, Maurice Halbwachs, and Richard Sennett describe all memory as existing solely within a collective construct. Some of these constructs stress limitations on retrieving memory, wherein an individual can only recall memories when in the presence of others who were present when those memories were created.¹ An implication of such conceptions is that the collective memories of the members of any given group should furnish very similar narratives or ones that readily complement each other in terms of their details and values. If these more limited conceptions are correct, one should, for instance, be able to take the stories offered by Thomas of Celano, John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the authors of the "We who were with him" texts and be able to integrate them into a single, fairly uniform

¹ Bartlett, *Remembering*, 244, 253–5, 257, 264–6, 268–300; Halbwachs and Gérard Namer, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*, Bibliothèque de l'évolution de l'humanité 8 (Paris: Albin Michel, 1994), viii, 50–61, 95–6, 98, 146, 278–9, 282, 290; Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, ed. and trans. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 40, 54, 172–3, 176, 183; Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. Francis J. Ditter, Jr., and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 22–30, 49; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 158–65; Cubitt, *History and Memory*, 154–65.

narrative. At the other end of the spectrum, some scholars such as Roger Bastide and Sarah Foot acknowledge the collective nature of memory but assert that an individual nonetheless has some influence over the manner in which he or she thinks about and presents her or his versions of the collective memories.² With Bastide and Foot's conceptions, even the members of a very small group should provide sufficiently divergent or contradictory narratives that reflect each person's distinctive characteristics. These variations will result from the individuals' particular backgrounds, perspectives, experiences, ideologies, and political motivations. In this framework, the stories furnished by the authors of the unofficial Italian Franciscan *legenda* might stem in part from a common pool of source material and could suggest a similar referential field, but these authors also project contrasting and conflicting details and values. Indeed, twentieth-century scholarship, which has concentrated on the Franciscan Question and has utilized thirteenth-century texts in an attempt to construct a uniform story of the Historical Francis has continually confronted the difficulty of composing a fairly accurate biography of Francis of Assisi.³ Indeed, these thirteenth-century texts furnish stories that corroborate each other in some regards but which are also quite incompatible in other matters, since they were recast from collective memory as a response to contemporary tensions within the order.

Because of Jordan's reliance on personal and collective memory to create a narrative, the theories and analytic methods employed by oral historians provide apt interpretative strategies for analyzing the *Chronica*. Indeed, as indicated in Chapters 1 and 2, it is not a

² Bastide, "Mémoire collective": 84–97; Foot, "Remembering, Forgetting, and Inventing": 185–200.

³ Thompson, *Francis of Assisi*, 153–61; Burr, *Spiritual Franciscans*, 1–41; Moorman, *Franciscan Order*, xvii–xi; Brooke, *Scripta Leonis*, 3–78; Lawrence, *The Friars*, 26–9.

matter of a medieval author having a “good” or a “bad” memory, but rather of how an individual uses his or her personal and/or collective memories to portray an event and to express a particular personal and/or group identity. As part of borrowing oral historians’ theoretical methodologies for interpreting and analyzing texts, this dissertation has attempted to treat each source as a singular voice. Even when an author composed more than one text, such as Thomas of Celano and his two *legenda*, each text is viewed as a separate entity, not only since the author had matured between texts, but also because he was responding to a new set of anxieties and was utilizing a different set of source material. In this way, each text reflects the author’s participation at a different point in time in an ongoing conversation within the order. The result is a perception of each source as presenting a unique voice from the others; it might at times present a similar argument, but is never employs the same line of reasoning, because of the change in context and the use of a different selection of sources.

Another result of utilizing oral historians’ concepts and theories is the indication that individuals can be aware of several different expressions or versions of stories in collective memory, even though she or he furnishes an alternative interpretation of events or a completely different narrative. For example, as explored in Chapter 8, Jordan indicates an awareness of the stories and collective memories supplied by Thomas of Celano, John of Perugia, and the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions* and the way in which they furnish two unrelated presentations for Francis’ reasoning for asking for a cardinal protector for the Friars Minor and for describing the protector’s relationship with the order. Despite acknowledging these stories from the order’s collective memory, he presents a unique interpretation of the stories that presents an alternative version of Francis’ reasoning and of the cardinal protector’s role. In this way, the account that Jordan recorded as written text was

not necessarily the dominant or the most common version of the stories in the order's collective memory, but it is the one that he presented as an alternative and—in his mind, at least—as a more accurate rendering of events as well as an appropriate expression of Franciscan clerical identity.

Since, if what Jordan says is correct, the friars at Halberstadt in 1262 compelled him to preserve his stories, this gentle coercion must have been because the clerical audience related more strongly to the meaning that they found in his stories than they did in those narratives that seem to have been prominent in the order's collective memory and which originated from Italy. Indeed, the effect that Jordan's stories had on these clerical friars acquires significance when the *Chronica* is viewed as a response to John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the "We who were with him" texts, all of which advocate simplicity and portray education for the lay friars as contrary to the Franciscan concept of simplicity. Since the unofficial Italian *legenda* furnish an identity that negatively critiques or condemns the work and values of friars such as those at Halberstadt in 1262, those friars were much more able to relate to Jordan's stories, because these tales emanated from someone who was, like them, a clerical friar active in the order's hierarchy.

It is through this evaluation of the *Chronica* as holding meaning to an audience of clerical friars, and by placing Jordan's narrative in a more comparative relationship with other thirteenth-century texts (Chapters 4 through 9), that his clerical bias, whether expressed in terms of martyrdom or mission, becomes evident. Indeed, despite the brevity of his discussion of martyrdom (Chapters 4 and 5), Jordan's story that Francis commanded his followers to disregard the suffering of others and to concentrate on their own adversity nonetheless suggests a clerical approach to the concept. When this instruction is placed in the

context of Jordan's condemnation of Francis' lay companions who were advocates of simplicity, it hints somewhat that some friars might have thought about martyrdom in terms of being killed while bearing witness to the Christian faith. Furthermore, the fact that fourteenth-century Spiritual texts champion this view is suggestive that this position might have been more common among advocates of simplicity. However, the *Chronica* and other thirteenth-century texts are sufficiently vague that any connection between the advocates of simplicity and narratives that characterize martyrdom as a physical death is tenuous at best. Indeed, since the discussions about martyrdom in the early to mid thirteenth century were fairly vague in their presentation of the subject, it is likely that the manner in which Franciscans thought about the concept was still sufficiently inchoate at that time for the friars to form narratives that were substantial enough to explore the idea adequately in written form for the purposes of constructing an identity for the order around this motif. Having said that, Francis' injunction that the friars to concentrate on their own suffering is indicative of a more thoughtful attitude toward martyrdom and is fairly similar to treatments found in other thirteenth-century clerical Franciscan texts which, while brief, nonetheless suggest a spiritual interpretation of martyrdom. Moreover, Jordan's contextualization of the concept within that of mission suggests that he is signaling to his readers that this topic needed no further comment, since he spent more time on the idea that the Friars Minor should act as living examples of orthodox Christianity and share the power of God's love throughout a lifetime of evangelical effort.

It is on the subject of Franciscan mission that Jordan most clearly indicates his clerical bias and adumbrates the benefits of clericalization on the Friars Minor (Chapters 6 through 9), an identity for the order that forms a distinct contrast to the one that advocated simplicity

that was furnished in John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the "We who were with him" texts. For his part, although Jordan omits any sustained and direct discussions of simplicity or clericalization, he reveals his attitudes on these subjects in several different ways. First, as discussed in Chapter 6, Jordan's emphasis on how the provincial ministers in Germany often elevated deacons to the status of clerics suggests that the friars were encouraged to seek further education so as to become clerics. Additionally, his story of Nicholas the Humble indicates that educated friars could practice Franciscan simplicity and be advocates for the concept as readily as some of the more uneducated lay friars were. Indeed, Jordan employs this narrative to criticize those lay friars who embraced simplicity as being so fearful of placing their own souls in danger that they shied away from any responsibilities; meanwhile Jordan indicates praise for clerical friars who participated in the order's hierarchy, since they put their souls in peril in order to guide their confreres in the maintenance of orthodoxy and orthopraxy and to encourage the laity to take an interest in their own salvation. To be sure, Jordan's clerical bias should be taken into account, since his portrayal shows the advocates of simplicity as more antagonistic, while the proponents of education and clericalization attempted to work with the advocates of simplicity and felt some admiration for their effectiveness as participants in the order's vocation. Nonetheless, Jordan's account highlights ideological friction between these two groups, but his portrayal fails to suggest that these ideological differences had led to factionalism within the order.

In Chapter 7, we considered Jordan's attitudes toward lay friars more generally, since the *Chronica* expresses more regard for educated friars, whether clerical or not, and characterizes them as being more beneficial to the organization and administration of the Friars Minor than were lay friars. In fact, he presents this view by portraying Francis as preferring to have

educated friars in his company and as relying on them for the administration of the order and for their aid in writing and interpreting the order's legislation. Moreover, Jordan speaks more about the clerical friars who participated in the successful 1221 mission to Germany. Indeed, he indicates that the lay friars were dependent on clerics for the purposes of hearing their confessions and of administering the Eucharist for them. As a result of the lay friars' reliance on the clerical friars, the order's ability to expand into a new region was more dependent on the number of available clerical friars and less so on the number of lay friars. Although Jordan only talks in a positive or a nonjudgmental manner about his confreres, he nonetheless insinuates that the lay friars add little to no benefit to the order in terms of mission.

We investigated a more negative characterization of lay friars in the *Chronica* in Chapter 8, which looks more closely at Jordan's discussion of Francis' reasoning for requesting a cardinal protector and the cardinal's relationship with the Friars Minor. Indeed, Jordan indicates that the request for a cardinal protector resulted from problems with lay friars who had difficulty following the order's Rule when Francis was absent. Indeed, by relating disruptions in the order in Italy that were caused by certain lay friars during Francis' mission to Egypt, Jordan characterizes a hierarchy dominated by lay friars as incapable of imposing order on the Friars Minor without the guidance of either the founder or of a papal representative to safeguard the order's orthodoxy. Moreover, because of the disorder that he describes in the order in Italy during Francis' absence, Jordan suggests that, if the order were left in the hands of the lay friars, the Friars Minor were more likely to suffer from internal squabbles, abandon the founder's ideals, and to fracture into competing orders. As a result, it could only be with the leadership of those who had studied theology that the Franciscans could remain a unified and orthodox entity.

For a more functional comparison between lay and clerical friars, Chapter 9 investigates Jordan's allusions to the manner in which multilingualism aided educated friars—particularly clerical ones—in the acts of preaching and begging. In this regard, Jordan uses eyewitness accounts of the 1219 missions to Germany and Hungary in order to show that missions to non-Italian regions led by largely uneducated lay friars were bound to end ignobly because these men could not communicate with the German- and Hungarian-speaking populations. By contrast, Jordan's account of the success of the clerically-led 1221 mission to Germany indicates that educated friars were more likely to have the linguistic skills that permitted the friars on a mission to distant lands to ease the anxieties of the local lay officials, to attract converts to the order, and to acquire alms from a fickle laity. In this way, the *Chronica* suggests that the less educated friars who went on missions to non-Italian regions and could not communicate with the inhabitants would be largely dependent on the more educated friars who could speak the local language in order to function on just a basic, subsistence level, not even on a level similar to that of the Italian order wherein the Friars Minor were increasingly involved in city, communal, and regional politics.

Lastly, even though Jordan does not explicitly state that he is responding to narratives from Italy that were shared through an oral tradition, some of his tales nevertheless bear on topics that were recorded in the Italian *legenda*, such as friction over education and simplicity (Chapters 6 and 7), the rationales for having a cardinal protector (Chapter 8), or the reasons why the 1219 missions were dysfunctional (Chapter 9). Indeed, it is only when the *Chronica* is placed in the context of competing visions of Franciscan identity as expressed in the order's collective memory that Jordan's text acquires its full significance. By evaluating Jordan's reliance on personal and collective memory for the *Chronica*, as

explored in Chapter 3, the manner in which his narratives touch on issues in the Italian *legenda* suggest an oral tradition that ranged through much of Europe and that enabled the friars to share the order's collective memory in these regions. For instance, John of Perugia, the authors of the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and Jordan agree that these stories about the relationship between the 1219 missions and Francis' rationale for a cardinal protector are important while they disagree as to the manner in which they are significant and the way in which the narratives should be presented. In fact, all of these authors are expansive in how they frame these stories and in the way in which they each emphasize different details in order to emphasize different goals: while the unofficial Italian *legenda* fashion these narratives from the order's collective memory in order to advocate issues more pertinent to lay friars, Jordan utilizes these same narratives from collective memory to portray the lay friars as ineffectual and instead to showcase the advantages that the clerical friars provided the order.

In this way, Jordan indicates that he was involved in a much wider conversation that was concerned with Franciscan values and the formulation of Franciscan organizational identity. Indeed, this conversation extended beyond the friars who attended the Halberstadt chapter in 1262, the friars who compelled Jordan to compose the *Chronica*. The issues that Jordan touched on were part of the general discursive landscape for the Friars Minor in several regions of—if not throughout—Europe in the first half of the thirteenth century. Additionally, even though the unofficial *legenda* received limited or no distribution, the ideas and sentiments within these texts nonetheless travelled across provincial boundaries in oral traditions and were preserved in the friars' collective memory in more regions than just in Italy. From the discourses within these texts, it can be argued that friars in various regions of

Europe, including Jordan and his confreres at the provincial chapter at Halberstadt, were actively using the order's collective memory to compose counter narratives to those tales emanating from Italy, and that the *Chronica* represents a rare expression of these sentiments in written form. However, the presence of such European-wide oral traditions should not be considered as presenting a single narrative of the Franciscans' history, as being interpreted in only one way by the friars, or as continuous points in the evolution of the Franciscans' voice. Instead, each author received some version of Franciscan collective memory and was either responding to it with his or her own interpretation or utilizing it in reaction to current tensions. In other words, the way in which the friars received, interpreted, and transmitted their collective memory was fractured, and this splintering gave rise to distinct voices that were recorded in textual form in different times and places. At the same time, this collective memory is similar enough that the voices usually do not stray too far from a common register, even if their details differ. Jordan, for example, does not fill in any lacunae inherent in the Italian *legenda* or present a similar portrayal of the order that they do. Instead, his portrayal packages events from the order's collective memory in a manner that permits him to share a contrasting set of values. In fact, Jordan's apparent awareness of other narratives and interpretations while providing his own variations indicates that the order's collective memory contained multiple alternatives in terms of stories and the ways in which to tell them so as to alter the way in which they could be interpreted, while only certain versions of these alternative interpretations have been preserved in written form.

In the end, Jordan presents himself as a keen observer of the Franciscan use of mission to expand the order into Germany. It is this presentation that has made the *Chronica* an invaluable source for historians regarding the Franciscan's first half-century of existence.

Crescentius of Iesi's request for the Friars Minor to record their memories of the founder and the use of such memories to compose John of Perugia's *legendum*, the *Legend of the Three Companions*, and the "We who were with him" texts indicate that the narratives composed by Francis' lay companions and advocates of simplicity dominated the order's oral tradition. However, the insistence of the Friars at Halberstadt that Jordan compose the *Chronica* suggests that the clerical friars wanted a text that championed their vision of the Friars Minor and that countered the identity fostered by certain interest groups in Italy. Because Jordan took an active part in that interpretation, was conversant with the order's collective memory, and was skilled at composing narratives on these subjects, he was well placed to compose a text that advanced a clerical identity for the Franciscan order.

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